National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

SALLIE HOLLEY IN NEW YORK.

Correspondence of The Liberator.

DRYDEN, N. Y., Nov. 30.

TOMPKINS County has been, for five weeks past, the field of labour to which we were invited by Mr. James A. Burr, a warm and faithful adherent to the uncompromising doctrines of the American Anti-Slavery Society, one who has stood the hard, stern test of years of coldness and averted confidence in a pro-slavery community, and *alone*, but still high-hearted, acknowledging allegiance only to the everlasting law of Right, while rebuking a temporizing Church, and persistently refusing to touch United States ballots, and thereby sully his integrity.

Miss Holley has to-day spoken the fourteenth time to audiences that have evidently felt the power of the anti-slavery Word.

When I feel the sympathetic stir that animates these meetings, and look around upon the people listening to the clear summons to come out of a dead formalism, a guilty apathy, and association with a false religion, and engage with zeal in an imminent duty to the perishing slave, my heart is uplifted with gratitude, that she is called to this divine mission.

The ordinary church services are so intolerably stupid, such confessions of poverty, ignorance, and failure in spiritual life, that it is a privilege not to be lightly esteemed to have an hour of magnetic speech from a gifted, earnest soul, full of sympathy, intelligence and inspiration. I know that I speak for many others as well as myself.

The lady who once asked me if I did not get tired of hearing Miss Holley so often would not have queried thus had she ever shared one of these consecrated hours. I answered by asking her if she got tired of hearing the New Testament.

As we mingle in households, and are made aware of the capabilities of individuals to accept and become propagandists of the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we speak of our regrets that such cannot come within the sphere of New England meetings. These are quite as good by nature as your attached friends there. They only idle away this day of grace because of their isolation and unacquaintance.

The exertions and influence of your coadjutor, Rev. Wm. H. Fish, seem to us invaluable to this neighbourhood. O, how this whole State needs to be occupied by hundreds of preachers of a like devotion!

Among those who speak most gratefully of his assisting them to purer light, and better understanding in theological and reform views, are Mr. and Mrs. E. D. Larned. These are truly aroused souls. They gave us kindly welcome to their home in Peruville, and all the furtherance in their power.

There are places hereabouts in which Mrs. Abby K. Foster held meetings in years gone by. But the impression of her faithful spirit is not yet effaced. Would that health and length of days might be hers for the welfare of communities, the good of souls, and the enthronization of conscience and justice in the world!

At Northville, Cayuga County, we found that the Rev. Mr. Graves, the former friendly pastor of the Presbyterian Church, had been dismissed by his congregation. One of the charges on record against him in its official books is, that he invited Miss Holley to give an anti-slavery lecture in his pulpit, five years ago. This is the sixth minister who has expiated the same crime by a summary rejection, during the five years of Miss Holley's lecturing! A touching instance of fidelity to anti-slavery principle came to our knowledge. Deacon Tillotson, at the age of eighty-seven years, had sent in his formal withdrawal from this church in Northville, the week before, saying that he could not in conscience regard it any longer as a Christian church.

We found it very pleasant to be welcomed once more under the hospitable roof of the friendly Quakers, Isaac Jacobs and his family, where the anti-slavery lecturer is sure to find sympathy and cheer as well as *The Liberator* to read. C. F. P.

NORTHERN SLAVEOWNERS—WHY MORE CRUEL THAN SOUTHERN MASTERS.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Nov. 20, 1856.

HORRIBLE as slavery is in the hands of Southerners, it is far more cruel under the rule of Northern men. The reason is obvious—no Northern man would ever embrace slavery, and become a practical slaveholder, until he was lost to all respect for himself, lost to all sense of justice, and his conscience not only asleep, but dead. In short, no Northern man would ever leave his home in a free State and go South and buy negroes until he was ready for any crime that would pay; and these are the wretches, who compose Northern masters, that are generally represented as more severe than Southern men.

What tongue or pen can describe the horrors of a slave shut up on a plantation, not only under a brutal master, but under a still more brutal overseer, whose principal recommendation is, that he can whip out of the unprotected slaves the greatest amount of labour. In confirmation of this, we see, in every slave State in the Union, advertisements signed by merchants, judges, physicians, members of Congress, planters, clergymen, ladies and others, that run in this way:

Run away—My man Fountain: has holes in his ears—a scar on the right side of his forehead—has been shot in the hind parts of his legs—is marked on his back with the whip. Apply to Robert Beasley, Macon, Ga.—*Georgia Messenger.*

The sea must give up its dead before the sufferings of poor Fountain can ever be realized or known. Holes cut in his ears; scars on his back from the whip; buck-shot in his legs; scar on his head; how many blows and cruelties have been inflicted upon this poor unprotected *man*, that are not in the catalogue, as certified to by the said Robert Beasley; and what must be the degraded sentiment of any community that can tolerate such fiendish torments? Nothing in "Uncle Tom's Cabin" that would probably exceed this; and here it is certified under the hand of the slaveholder himself, and in the newspaper; and no one in Georgia blushes at this outrage upon humanity.

Poor Fountain—truly, if God is just, there must be in Heaven joys unspeakable for those who, on earth, have endured sufferings like thine. First, robbed of your own liberty; robbed of your own wife, your own children and all their posterity forever; robbed of every dollar you can earn, day by day; fed only on a peck of corn a week; and then your bones and nerves lacerated till the greatest amount of labour can be extracted from your frail body. How many times has this poor victim stood in pools of his own blood, drawn from his quivering flesh with the lash of the brutal overseer, and probably in presence of his own wife and children, and even they not allowed to shed one sympathizing tear to comfort him, and he without hope, under these agonizing tortures, even in God himself? No wonder the poor slaves, driven to despair, will run—run they know not where—fly, fly to the swamps, or into the grave, rather than endure these tortures.

This, this is American slavery. Here is the evidence of the master himself, with the scars on his victim. Hundreds of advertisements are now before me, equally atrocious. Here is another case:

Run away, negro boy Kett, 15 or 16 years old: has a piece taken out of one of his ears. George Kinlock, Charleston, S. C., owner.

A short time since, on board a steamboat, I brought to the notice of a slaveholder some of these facts. He replied instantly: "These are all a pack of damned abolition lies."

I replied, they may be lies, but if so, then the slaveholders must be the most shameless wretches the world ever produced—if they can, under their own hands, and in the public prints, publish such an account of themselves. The lower regions could not probably furnish a monster, male or female (either with or without a cloven foot), who would be so infernalized as to first thus torture his victim after robbing him of all, even to the last ray of hope in the future, and then parade his unparalleled cruelties before a Christian world. What villany equal to this can be imagined? CLARKSON.

MR. WILLIAM CRAFT AT LEEDS.—This well-known fugitive from slavery lectured on Friday, October 24th, to a most respectable and intelligent audience in the large Independent Chapel, East Parade, Edward Baines, Esq., in the chair. As Mr. Craft stated what he himself had heard and seen, he was listened to with evident interest. The painful details of the separation of his family and the sale of his loved sister on the auction stand, with her hasty removal without time for even one word of farewell, touched every heart; while his graphic description of his own and Mrs. Craft's escape, under the guise of a sickly gentleman and his slave, was interrupted by frequent and hearty expressions of sympathy. Mr. Craft suggested that the people of England, in order to aim a heavy blow at slavery, should advocate the cultivation of cotton in their own colonies and should send addresses to the religious bodies in America, imploring them to use their influence in abolishing slavery. The fluency, diction and fine intonation with which he delivered his address astonished and delighted his hearers; and should Mr. Craft visit Leeds again, he is likely to have a still larger audience. The following resolutions, moved by Mr. John Wade, and seconded by Mr. Joseph Lupton, were carried unanimously:

"That this meeting expresses its solemn and unqualified abhorrence of the system of slavery existing in the United States, and its belief that that system, unless abandoned, will entail upon that great country the evils of perpetual contention and civil war.

"That this meeting declares its sympathy with Mr. Wm. Craft in the sufferings he has endured, and wishes him and his wife prosperity in this free country; and that they may be the means of promoting the liberation of their countrymen on the other side of the Atlantic."—*London Anti-Slavery Advocate.*

A MICHIGAN MAN DRIVEN FROM GEORGIA—FREE SPEECH CRUSHED OUT.

Correspondence of The Detroit Advertiser.

VERMONTVILLE, Mich., December, 1856.

UNDER date of August 19, 1856, Mr. Moses C. Church, formerly a resident of this place, where his parents now live, but then being in the employ of his uncle Harvey Hall, in Columbus, Georgia, wrote a letter to his father, which contained the following paragraph:

"Politics just now are all the go here—in fact, I never saw a community so wholly given up to it in my life. We have only two tickets, Fillmore and Buchanan, though, if there was a little more courage and a little more concert of action, it would not be hard to get up a Fremont ticket, and, though there would be no chance of his carrying the State, he would get more votes than many suppose."

"Another four years will see great changes throughout the entire South. All this talk about dissolving the Union, if Fremont is elected, is nothing but so much gas. The working, non-slaveholding mechanics, and others who are dependent upon their daily labour for their support, feel sorely the competition of non-paid labour, and they do not hesitate to say they would vote for Fremont if they had a chance. As voters they are three to one of the slaveholders, and they are fast finding out their strength. Thinking, sober men here acknowledge that they already see the beginning of the end, and one remarked to me only last week that, in his opinion, ten years from that day would not see a slave in America. So strong is his belief that he has disposed of all his property of that kind, and does not intend to own any more. It is a current remark here among the working classes that for the future those who own slaves, and have the benefit of them, may do their own watching—they will not. I claim to know what I say, as we employ a good many hands, and I know what they say."

This paragraph was published in the *Eaton County Republican*, and some person, actuated either by a mean, low-lived spirit of mischief, or a deep-seated, infernal malignity, enclosed a half-sheet of the paper in an envelope and forwarded it to Mr. Harvey Hall. On receiving it, Mr. Hall repaired, in hot haste, and full of fiery indignation, to the boarding-place of his nephew, to pour out the vial of red-hot wrath upon his head. Mr. Church unhesitatingly informed his uncle that he wrote the paragraph, and that it contained his honest convictions, though he did not in the least seek to promulgate them at the South. Mr. Hall then told him that if these were his sentiments, he could not entertain them at the South, and he felt it to be his duty to rid the community of his presence. He also threatened him with personal violence unless he speedily left the country. This was on Saturday. Mr. Hall added further, that he must leave the first part of the next week; and if he concluded to do so, he need have no apprehension of personal violence, as he [Hall] was the only one that knew of the letter, and no measures would be taken to forcibly expel him until he should report in the matter. There were two other members of the firm which employed Mr. Church. On consulting with them, though they wished his services, yet they told him he had better leave, for his uncle would surely carry his threat into execution if he did not, and the result would be riot and bloodshed. Mr. Church saw that if he undertook to remain his life would be endangered, and his wife and young child left to the tender mercies of a Georgia mob, and all heathendom, except Missouri, could not have furnished one more blood-thirsty, reckless and unprincipled. Wisely, then, he concluded to leave; and, arranging his business as best he could, though at a sacrifice of four or five hundred dollars, did so on the next Wednesday.

Mr. Hall is a native of Vermont. He emigrated to Georgia. There he acquired wealth and slaves—property in the souls of men—and has become what he is. At his solicitation, his nephew left a lucrative situation in New York city to enter his employ; and for writing the above paragraph to his father, he is threatened with "personal violence" at the hands of the slave-driving interest of one of the cities of one of our confederate republics unless he speedily leaves.

THE POETRY OF THE PATRIARCHS.

MR. JOSEPH BRENAN, one of the Irish exiles of 1848, manifests his poetical genius and that love of human liberty for which, as nobody can deny, he left his native land, by a "Ballad for the Young South" in the columns of *The New Orleans Delta*, from which we take the following elegant extract:

"Hark to the howling demagogues—
A fierce and ravenous pack—
With nostrils prone, and howl and bay,
Which run upon our track!
The waddling bull-pup Hale—the cur
Of Massachusetts breed—
The moping mongrel sparsely crossed
With Puritanic seed—
The Boston bards who join the chase
With genuine beagle chime,
And Sumner, snarling poodle-pet
Of virgins past their prime!
And even the sluts of Women's Rights—
Tray, Blanche and Sweet-heart all—
Are yelping shrill against us still,
And hunger for our fall!"

We think nobody will dispute that the muse of this New Orleans Joseph draws from the love of slave-breeding and the slave trade, as they are seen in that luxurious city, a most congenial inspiration. The Young South, whose great exemplar seems to be Mr. Preston S. Brooks, cannot desire a better bard than this martyr of Hibernian freedom, to whose high-flown imagination, his friend, John Mitchel's desire for a lot of fat niggers in Alabama was prosaic and common-place. But our readers must not do this negro worshipping poet the injustice to suppose that his talent is confined to blackguardism. Here is another stanza of a fighting character, desperate enough even for the famous and bloody day of Slievegammon itself:

"Sons of the brave! the time is come
To bow the haughty crest,
Or stand alone, despite the threats,
Of North, or East, or West!
The hour is come for manly deeds
And not for puling words—
The hour is passed for platform prats—
It is the time for swords!
And by the fame of John Calhoun,
To honest truth be true;
And by old Jackson's free will,
Now do what ye can do!
By all ye love and all ye hope,
Be resolute and proud,
And make your flag a symbol high,
Of triumph—or a shroud!"

It does not altogether appear from this outburst what Joseph and Mrs. Potiphar propose to do about it. If a general exportation of fools should ever take place from New Orleans, it is hardly possible to doubt that Mr. Joseph Brenan will be included in the invoice.—*Tribune.*

PARKER PILLSBURY.

You will have seen that we had Mr. Pillsbury at our State meeting. His presence was most welcome and added much to the interest of the occasion. This was my first time of seeing a good deal of him in private. I had known him before only by reputation, and by meeting him occasionally at meetings. I need hardly say that the more intimately I have become acquainted with him, the better I have liked him. He is gentle, kind and loving in private, while in public he seems austere and sometimes bitter. He bears witness to the truth so sternly and inexorably that his opponents, and sometimes his friends, think he has not sufficient consideration for those who differ from him. He is a man of great clearness of vision, but he often sees things singly, and describes them out of their relations. Emerson says the English have their eyes set at the bottom of a tunnel, and affirm the one small fact that they know, with the best faith in the world that nothing else exists. This description is not altogether inapplicable to Mr. Pillsbury. In animadverting upon the implications of the Church or clergy, or the Republican party, of Henry Ward Beecher, or *The Tribune* newspaper, in support of slavery, he paints their errors without admitting any mitigating considerations. The pictures he draws are true, but they are not always complete. They are painted on a dark back-ground, unrelieved by any of the lights and shades of qualifying circumstances. His descriptions of men and things, of parties and the cause, are therefore often sombre and discouraging. He describes things so graphically and in colours so intense as to make them stand out of their relations. It is true, by so doing he makes visible and palpable things which many are unwilling to see. But he compels them to see, however reluctant they may be. This is his object, and here is his power. He is a man of big heart and big utterances. Nothing less than a hyperbole will relieve him. If he were restricted to the guarded and qualified utterances of people of less intense feeling, he would choke. I used to like to hear him in the days when his health was good and when he was at the zenith of his enthusiasm and excitement. His scathing sarcasm and sweeping denunciations, his colossal and magnificent figures of rhetoric, and his easy, flowing, poetical style, withal—I tell you they were very fine. I have heard him use a splendid metaphor, in which he compared this country to a giant asleep, with his head reclining on the snows of the North, his feet bathing in the sunshine of the tropics, and holding in his left hand the rising, and in his right the setting, sun. Then he used to describe most graphically the alarm of the churches at the approach of Abby Kelley. "They quaked," he said, "as at the tramp of the war-horse of Alaric." But his manner is much subdued since his return from Europe. This is owing in part to ill-health, and in part, I suppose, to the effect of advancing years upon his active blood. Wendell Phillips once said to me of Mr. Pillsbury, "He is taller by a head and shoulders than the tallest of us"!—*Letter from Philadelphia, in the London A. S. Advocate for December.*

THE THREAT FULFILLED.

AN ORIGINAL AMERICAN DRAMA IN ONE ENTIRE ACT.

(Copyright not secured.)

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

Senator Toombs and his Slaves.

Scene—BUNKER HILL.—Hail Columbia, with the American Eagle in her arms, and the American Flag applied to her weeping eyes, leaning against the Monument in the distance. Enter Senator Toombs, solus.

TOOMBS.—So, this is Bunker Hill. A hill, indeed! Why, such a heap of dirt as this would not be called a hill at all, down South. We have higher hills in Georgia which have never yet been named in history, and here are these presumptuous Yankees making a great row about their Bunker Hill, as though it were a mountain. But I have made a threat to call the roll of my slaves on this renowned hillock, and I have come to fulfil it. It shall be done. *(He takes a paper from his pocket, and unrolls it after the manner of Leporello in Don Juan.)* Ha! here they are. First in the list *(with a loud voice)*, E——d E——tt!

(A mild voice replies)—Here.

TOOMBS.—R——s C——te!

VOICE *(with alacrity, and glibly)*.—Here, massa. May I hab de honour of polishing up dem glittering generalities of massa's boots?

TOOMBS.—R——t C. W——p!

VOICE.—I am here.

TOOMBS.—G——e S. H——d! Come, hurry up there!

VOICE.—I am here. Please don't destroy the Union.

TOOMBS.—I will see about it. G——e L——t!

VOICE.—Here, massa.

(A slow coach rolls up the hill, from which a package of papers is thrown.)

TOOMBS.—Why, what is this? I have not called you.

VOICE *(from the coach, as of one dying)*.—It is *The B——n C——r*, come to offer its services—if you will please accept them, and save the country.

TOOMBS.—Good! Ha! ha! I have done the deed. I have fulfilled my threat; so, I'll to the South again.

(Hail Columbia wipes her eyes, the granite Monument looks bluer than usual, and the curtain falls.)—*Tribune.*

PRAYER-MEETING INCIDENT.

AT the monthly concert of prayer for the missionary cause, in the First Baptist Church (Rev. Dr. Baker's), in Williamsburgh, on Sunday evening last, an incident occurred illustrative of pro-slavery civility and pro-slavery toleration. The Pastor had called out specially one brother to pray. The brother is captain of a vessel—has pretty extensive dealing in Southern ports—is not understood to be opposed to a fair stock in trade in Southern articles. He prayed, prayed long and prayed fervently, for the conversion of the heathen, for the protection of the "exposed and suffering missionaries," but forgot the heathen at home, and the suffering ones in Kansas and slavery. In the course of the evening, another good and fervent brother prayed. He did full justice to the heathen abroad, and to the self-sacrificing missionary. He also prayed for the suffering poor in our cities, and especially that *free* places of worship might be provided for them, where, without money and without price, they might have the Gospel. All this was endurable. But the good brother went further. Like Paul, he "remembered those in bonds as bound with them." He prayed God to be merciful and remember "the poor slaves who are compelled to toil under the lash six days in the week and often on the Sabbath." At this stage the brother who had first prayed could stand it no longer. He gathered up his hat and coat, vacated his pew, walked down the uncarpeted aisle with the tramp of a cart and oxen, passed very near the praying brother and left the church, taking care to advertise the large meeting of his entire exit by a pretty *audible* closing of the door.

Such was the incident, and now for the *rebuke* that followed.

Kind reader, in your estimation, who was the more deserving of rebuke? Was it he who plead fervently and truthfully for crushed humanity, or was it the striding pro-slavery captain making his devotional exodus from the church? Strange to tell, the pastor, before the close of the meeting, took occasion to deal a cutting rebuke to the praying man for hurting the feelings of that good brother, for driving him out or "causing him to leave the house," especially when that "good brother knew so much more about slavery than did the praying brother." It is needless to add that the praying brother felt, as did very many, if not all present, that *he* was the aggrieved, insulted person. The solution is not difficult when the further fact is announced that the pastor came from the same part of the country to which the ship captain occasionally sends his vessel.—*Tribune.*

POPULAR PIETY.

A FEW years ago, representatives of the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations met in two different American cities. Not unmindful of certain lax notions upon the subject of dancing, one of them passed a strong resolution against the sin of dancing. The other took decisive action against the custom of sitting during prayer. A few members were anxious that the Conventions should pass a resolution against another practice, which, it seems, was very prevalent among pious Presbyterians and Baptists, that of buying and selling their Brethren, many of them brother church-members. Both Conventions declined taking any action on that subject.

It is the same in less public connections. It is not uncommon to find a "pious man," strict in reference to things which one would think he need not care a straw about, while in other respects connected with honorable dealing, with avoidance of what is mean, ungenerous, underhanded, he is not so strict as he is who makes no pretension to religion. He is a pious man, and very strict in his notions, people say; meaning by this that he is so in reference to certain definitions of dogma, but not necessarily of every-day duty. They do not always mean that he has the same strict notions about bargains as he has about doctrines and amusements; that he would be as willing to utter an oath as a falsehood to a customer; and to be seen at a theatre, or at a ball, as to have it thought he would take even a trifling advantage, in trade, of ignorance or simplicity. How many there are who would be horror-struck at the idea of staying away from church or the prayer-meeting for six weeks, who live very contentedly during more than that number of years without paying just debts, or at enmity—without attempt at reconciliation—with a neighbour.—*Christian Inquirer.*

SECTIONALISM.

LIBERTY and slavery are antagonistic interests. Irreconcileable in their very nature, no power of sophistry can compromise their differences, no pressure of necessity can affiliate their opposites. All *seeming* union between them is deceptive; all *real* union is impossible. That (so-called) liberty which fraternizes with slavery is *not* liberty, nor even a counterfeit of liberty, but an impudent sham, masquerading in a name to which it has not the remotest title. "Liberty, as a *principle*, is the opposite of slavery. Liberty, as a *fact*, is a practical repudiation of slavery. Ceasing to be this, it ceases to be liberty.

These two interests exist in our country at the present day. Some people wonder that, like brethren, they do not dwell together in unity. It is simply because they are *not* brethren. One is God's child—the other is the Devil's. Both are aggressive, and cannot be otherwise. Liberty antagonizes, with the *idea* of slavery as the mind antagonizes with stagnation; as the sunshine antagonizes with darkness and frost. It is a law of its life—a necessity of its nature. So slavery antagonizes with liberty, as darkness with light, as the pestilence with health, as death with life. No possible aggregation of compacts and compromises can reconcile these inevitable antagonisms. The battle will go on, till the one power or the other is subdued—exterminated.—*Wesleyan.*

SOUTHERN DEPENDENCE ON THE NORTH.—*The Creole*, of New Orleans, of the 26th ult., utters the following lamentation:

"The Southern gentleman cultivates his cotton or sugar with agricultural implements made in the workshops of the North, and sends his crop to market in hogsheads or bales manufactured abroad. His carriage is of Northern build—his horses of Northern birth—their harness comes from Pennsylvania or New Jersey, and often their food from the valley of the Wabash. He himself is surrounded in his beautiful home, with furniture from the looms and shops of New Hampshire and Massachusetts—he eats from ware manufactured in Connecticut—uses Northern knives, forks even tooth-picks—is clothed from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head with Eastern fabrics, and when he dies, a New England shroud envelops his inanimate form and a New England coffin preserves his lifeless remains."

MORE OF THE SLAVE INSURRECTION IN TENNESSEE.

From The Courrier des Etats Unis, Dec. 11.

ONE of our editors, at this moment in the country designated as the centre of a black conspiracy, sends us, on this subject, some positive information, which has all the authority of direct and occular evidence. We cannot do better than place the letters literally before the eyes of our readers:

DOVER (Tenn.), Tuesday, Dec. 2, 1856.

The White Bluff, which brought us to Nashville, touched at the chief town in Stewart County, whence I date this letter. The whole village is in a state of anxiety; the white population is armed, and I see children, who can scarcely carry a gun and cartouche-box, aiding to swell the number. The cause of all this is a negro conspiracy, and you will know of it long before you receive my letter.

Inasmuch as there will be exaggeration on one side or the other, according to the source whence the news is received, I send you as exact an account as possible. That which I have not seen myself, I give on the evidence of eye-witnesses.

Before the only hotel in Dover are assembled excited groups of people, and from among them horsemen, with revolver in hand and rifle slung across the back, start off frequently in all directions. Here also meet, from distant places, numerous horsemen, whose animals, covered with foam, bear witness to the rapidity with which they have travelled. In the hotel, and in two or three neighbouring houses, the greater portion of the women and children may be found. Here and there the black servants obey with submission and promptitude the different orders given them.

A house, guarded by men with bayonet fastened on the gun, encloses nine black prisoners who are threatened with execution in a few hours. Nothing will be done with five, at least, of them, but as to the four others—the chiefs of the conspiracy—they will in all probability become acquainted with the cord.

We receive on board the Judge of Dover and his family, whom he conducts, for the moment, to another residence.

At 4 o'clock we arrive some miles higher up on the left bank of the Cumberland, at a place called the "Cumberland Iron Works." The machine shop, a dozen houses besides, and a few negro huts, are all the habitations in the place.

In a large building near the river some sixty blacks are imprisoned for being connected with the conspiracy. The remainder, on the other hand, are doing, submissively, their ordinary work. The same thing may be said of all the neighbouring localities.

This for the general aspect. And now as to the causes that have given rise to all this excitement. Its origin is traced to the Presidential campaign.

Much weakened by distance, the echo of the noise made in the North about the name of Fremont has extended to the banks of the Cumberland. It came in the track of the steamers which traversed the second tributary of the Ohio, and then found itself in the centre of Tennessee. To penetrate the most distant villages, it had only to pass along the gorges which separate these little isolated mountains. Whether emissaries (as they affirm here) came or not from the North, it is nevertheless true that there have been certain indications of an approaching revolt. According to some, it was to be general, and would extend to all the slave States. According to others, it would simply be confined to Kentucky and Tennessee. This latter version appears to me true, and it is already more than necessary to exercise an active surveillance.

Nevertheless, nothing of a positive nature had been discovered till about ten days since, when a negro escaped from the Cumberland Iron Works. He was promptly captured, and it was learnt from him that he fled from the persecution of his brethren in servitude, who had threatened to kill him if he refused to take part in the conspiracy. The numerous questions to which he was subjected caused the subsequent arrest of nearly 80 negroes, almost all of whom avowed their complicity in a plot, and even gave the most precise details as to the execution of their project. Nothing less was contemplated than a general massacre. The negroes of each habitation intended, between the 23d and 26th of December, to slaughter the whites who surrounded them, and, this accomplished, to march to the chief place of the country, where the blacks would generally assemble, and commence to act.

In many places the white is much inferior in numbers to the black population, but they have added to their strength by putting on a bold front and by punishing the four principal conspirators whom I saw prisoners at Dover. This is all that has passed up to the present time.

As to the rumours that may have reached you about a negro killed by a white man in a conflict, then a woman killed by a black, and lastly a band of 400 slaves devastating farms and slaughtering the inhabitants, there is no truth in them whatever. C. G.

CLARKSVILLE, Montgomery County, Tenn., Wednesday, Dec. 3, 1856.

We arrived here at daybreak, damaged, and were obliged to remain over for the greater part of the day. I took advantage of the opportunity to go ashore, and pass some hours in gaining such information as I could obtain. The details that I have collected alter nothing of what I wrote yesterday evening.

The town is more tranquil than any of the other places that we have visited about here. This is because the white population, more numerous, has less to fear from the plots of agitators, white or black. Nevertheless, during the last few days, they have not been without anxiety. They cite, among other things, the working of an iron mine, which occupies about 800 negroes, belonging to a single individual, and which has been on the point of being suspended. The energetic action of the proprietor, and the arrest of six whites who stirred up the revolt, have sufficed to suppress the commencement of an insurrection. The works go on, but they are incessantly watched. The six whites have been condemned to the penitentiary. Thirty blacks have been arrested, and await judgment.

The credulity of these poor people is such that, in the belief of the whites who excite them, they imagine that Col. Fremont, with a large army, is waiting at the mouth of the River Cumberland until the night of the 23d or 24th of December has arrived. Then all this army will help to deliver the slaves. They have been struck by the sudden swelling of the river, and attribute this circumstance to the great assemblage of men and ships at its mouth. Certain slaves are so greatly imbued with this fable, that I have seen them smile while they are being whipped, and have heard them say that "Fremont and his men can bear the blows they receive."

The mines along the shores of the Cumberland, for a distance of about thirty miles, have suspended work. Machine-shops, occupying from 150 to 200 negroes, have now only five or six whites to direct operations. This is the case in regard to the Cumberland Iron Works, of which I spoke yesterday. In these localities, also, the panic is great. Three white Free Soilers have been arrested in Dover in the act of exciting a revolt. They were beaten, and were allowed fifteen hours to leave the county and thirty to go out of the State. A black preacher was arrested while delivering an Abolitionist sermon: He forms one of the nine who were yesterday in Dover. Of these nine, five are not yet tried. The four others have been tried by a regular tribunal and were condemned to be hung on Thursday (to-morrow); but as, on the announcement of this sentence, a band of blacks was organized for a rescue, the four criminals were to be hung last evening. The excitement which will naturally follow among the slaves is much dreaded. The women and children too young to serve for defence are emigrating towards more populous districts.

Of the body of 200 blacks that marched to Dover, about sixty have been arrested. They are those which I saw whipped yesterday at the Cumberland Iron Works. Thirty others returned to their workshops and farms, and the rest ran to the woods; but no attempt at pillage or murder has yet been made. In saving themselves, the blacks not only carried away arms and munitions, but also everything that they could, and in many places, particularly at Dover, the whites are short of powder. They would have paid its weight in gold for that which we could not procure for them.

All the blacks made prisoners are first examined separately by a Jury, who decide whether there is ground or not to lay an accusation before a Justice. This increased precaution has already had a good moral effect among them.

As I told you yesterday, the plan was to butcher the whites upon isolated farms and in the workshops, and then to march to each chief town of the county. They would thus have established a free road along the Cumberland from Nashville to Ohio. By this route all who took part in the revolt could have fought a retreat to Indiana and Illinois. No one could have disturbed them, for they would have traversed the least populated part of the country. Thus, though the plot has been exposed and we have not to dread any actual explosion, there still remains an uneasiness about the future, and we reflect with terror upon the facility of executing this plan if it had not been discovered.

Correspondence of The Louisville Courier.

HOPKINSVILLE, Dec. 3, 1856.

W. N. HALDEMAN, Esq.—*Dear Sir:* Our little town is up in arms at the present writing. "The negroes are marching upon us," is heard from every mouth. This morning several messengers arrived from Lafayette, a small town eighteen miles south of Hopkinsville, calling on the citizens of this place to come to their assistance. They were momentarily expecting an attack from about 600 negroes. About 150 persons left immediately for the "seat of war." They were in command of Capt. James Jackson and Sheriff Gowan. Hopkinsville is strongly guarded. It is rumoured we will be attacked to-night. I will write you again to-morrow. Would telegraph, but all communication has been cut off—the telegraph poles being cut down. Appended is an extra issued this morning. Yours, in haste, CORPORAL.

From The Hopkinsville Press—Extra.

HOPKINSVILLE, Wednesday, Dec. 3, 1856.

Our whole community was thrown into a state of intense excitement this morning upon the receipt of the following letter from Lafayette:

VIGILANCE COMMITTEE ROOMS,
LAFAYETTE, Ky., Tuesday, Dec. 2, 1856.

Gentlemen of Hopkinsville:

From reliable information we expect an attack from the negroes of the Iron Works on our town to-morrow morning, perhaps to-night. Please come to our assistance. We are in great danger.

Yours, JOHN H. RUSSELL, Secretary.

H. S. SYPERT, C. B. HALL,
J. P. FLINT, J. J. ROGERS,
J. W. FRASER, J. R. SMITH,
Committee.

The Secretary of the Committee adds the following, predicated upon which their apprehension is based:

"The negroes of Eclipse, Clark and Lagrange have united and are marching towards Dover, and were within eight miles of that place when last heard from. Their intention is to relieve the negroes at Dover, then march to the Rolling-Mill, then to Bell-Wood Furnace, then through Lafayette on to Hopkinsville and the Ohio River."

This statement, taken in connection with the fact that a regular plan for an insurrection has been detected at Clarksville, is truly alarming. We think, however, the account somewhat based on rumour and not altogether reliable.

It is high time that steps were being taken for our defence in case of an insurrection. We have not a stand of arms in this whole section of the country, and no organized military. We are requested by many of our best citizens to call a meeting of citizens of the County at this place, on Friday next, the 5th inst., to take immediate action upon this subject. Other questions of great importance, relating to the slaveholder's interest, will be presented to this meeting. Let every man attend.

From The Clarksville Jeffersonian, Dec. 3.

It is currently reported here that three or four of the negroes convicted of complicity in the proposed insurrection were hanged by the people at Dover, on Monday.

A branch of the negro plot has been discovered at the Cumberland Iron Works, in Stewart County, and a large number of negroes had been placed under arrest and were undergoing examination at the last accounts.

On or about the 21st day of November, 1856, a plot for an insurrection among the negroes at Louisa Furnace, O. K. Furnace, Cumberland Furnace, and in the intermediate neighbourhood, was discovered, whereupon the people commenced the work of apprehending and punishing all the negroes whom they could find out, as having been engaged in said plot, or of having been cognizant of it. Some of those negroes who were represented to be the most guilty were lodged in the jails of Dickson and Montgomery Counties. Great excitement prevailed throughout the neighbourhood, and all persons prepared for the insurrection. Every man used extraordinary vigilance about his own premises. On the morning of the 26th ult., a negro man, named Britton, belonging to Solomon D. Raimey, was heard, just before daybreak, approaching Louisa Furnace as it seemed, making a great noise, and exclaiming at intervals, "Wake up, boys! wake up," besides many other things, which could not be understood by those who heard him. He passed the house of Mr. Joseph Wheless and Mr. Benjamin Blackford, and proceeded to the house of Mr. Wm. Nicks, which is about three hundred yards from the Furnace. Mr. Nicks was absent from home, being out on a patroling expedition. J. N. Puckett, Esq., the father-in-law of Mr. Nicks, was at the house of Mr. Nicks, where he had been staying for some time. Esq. Puckett, upon hearing the noise made by said negro, as he approached, went to the door and listened, and finding that he (the negro) was coming in the direction of the house, stepped back into the house and got his gun, and again walked out into the porch. As the negro came up to the yard gate, which is about twenty steps from the house, the dogs ran out and commenced barking at him, whereupon he exclaimed, "I am not afraid of dogs." As he entered the gate, Esq. Puckett once or twice, in loud tones, ordered him to stop, but the negro still advanced towards the house, saying, "Shoot, Mr. Nicks, shoot me!" About half-way between the gate and house he dropped aside two coats, or round-abouts, and advanced to the steps of the porch. As he started up the steps, Esq. Puckett shot and killed him. The alarm was given by the Esquire and Mr. Nicks, and many of us reached the spot within a few minutes, and there found the negro dead, with his head resting upon the steps, just as he had fallen.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

From The Clarksville Chronicle, Dec. 3.

On Wednesday morning last, about half an hour before daybreak, a negro man belonging to Mr. Solomon Raimey was shot and instantly killed by one of the neighbours, named Puckett, under the following circumstances: The scene of the occurrence is in the immediate vicinity of Louisa Iron Works, the point at which the intended insurrection (mentioned in our last) was discovered. The negro had been sent to his work in the coalings, and started off, apparently in usual good humour, but shortly turned back and approached the house where he met his fate. It was too dark to distinguish persons, and Mr. P., who was alone in the house with his daughter, warned him not to enter the gate, but he persisted in doing so, and, notwithstanding a second and third command to halt, advanced until he reached the porch in front of the door, cursing as he advanced, and defying Mr. P. to fire. When he put his foot upon the porch, Mr. P. discharged his gun, which was heavily loaded with buck-shot, into his breast. The negro fell, and died almost instantly.

We understand that some of the negroes at the Furnace, who had been under examination concerning the insurrection for several days, and had witnessed the high degree of excitement and indignation manifested by the whites, upon hearing the summary punishment of one of their fellows, immediately fled, under the impression that the excited whites had commenced a general and indiscriminate slaughter. They were soon retaken and quieted.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT ON THE KILLING OF THE NEGRO.

A publication has been made setting forth the facts in this case, with the following commentary:

Now, therefore, We, the undersigned, for the want of a more appropriate manner of expression, do issue and put forth this certificate; and do hereby declare our entire approbation of the conduct of Esq. Puckett upon that occasion; and our thanks for the good which that deed has accomplished, and the mischief which it has prevented, for we verily believe that but for the timely killing of that negro, injury and perhaps death, would have been inflicted upon the family of Mr. Nicks; and consequently indiscriminate slaughter would have been dealt upon the negroes. Let everybody know, then, that J. N. Puckett, Esq., has done nothing wrong in this matter; but that the act was just and highly honourable, and is by us unanimously considered a blessing.

Gilbert T. Abernathy, Stephen D. Wating, Thomas Martin, Amasia Welch, James R. Lee, J. H. Gossett, Thomas Bull, James H. Black, David Musgrove, Nelson Davis, Joseph Wheeless, William Nicks, Ben. Blackford, G. W. Denney, William Harvey, T. H. Baston, Thomas Baston, Jr., W. A. Williams, Smith Baston, Wm. Carroll, Sol. D. Raimey, the said boy, Britton, belonged to me; James Harris, G. Tinsley, J. T. Phipps, Thomas D. Baxter, R. L. Wickham, L. F. Greene, W. C. Harley.

DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING THE NEGRO PLOT.

From The Clarksville Jeffersonian, Dec. 3.

No intelligent, candid man can deny, in view of the occurrences and developments of the past ten days, that a horrible and sickening catastrophe has been averted by the tim

lest Fremont should be elected; and, secondly, that they were in the practice of attributing to him and to the party that supported him a design to abolish slavery in the States. It would be most extraordinary—it would be inexplicable—if some of the negroes did not become fully convinced that such a design was on foot. What the most intelligent of them gathered from what they read and heard would be communicated, as a matter of course, to the rest, and the imagined possibility of obtaining their liberty would make the whole race uneasy, and naturally suggest projects for shaking off their bondage.

If, therefore, such causes had any agency in fomenting the conspiracy, the slaveholders have only themselves to blame. They made false charges, and the slaves believed them; they flung a rocket towards the enemy's camp, and the sparks from it lighted a mine under their own feet. We cannot allow them to make their own falsehoods the ground of a new attack upon the people of the North. The conspiracy which has been just discovered is their own work; partly the natural fruit of the calamitous institution which they cherish and seek to extend, and partly the consequence of ideas and impressions which they have been most diligent in propagating. Hereafter let them learn at least to calumniate with discretion.

From The Tribune.

We have to record accounts of slave conspiracies in the South, overtaken before they burst forth, but terrible as indications of an unfortunate state of society. History is philosophy teaching by example, and all history but proves that the enslavement of man by man has been accompanied by the fiercest reactions on the part of the oppressed. It was so in antiquity, when the light did not shine as now, and when letters were denied to but few. It was so when, at a later period of the old empires, the number of educated slaves had become the harbingers to the abolition of the system in Italy. It was so when the local jacqueries of France foretold the most exciting period of human annals—the servile uprising of the year 1793. It was so in St. Domingo when the African overcame the white man. What right, then, have we to expect that as we go on multiplying the slave population, mixing his blood with that of the white man until millions of "human brutes" and "human chattels" have the fire, the pride, the intellect and genius of the whites—no longer, as of old, the humble Guinea negro with his fetich, but the man bleached like his master—what right have we to expect that our history so outworking shall form an exception to the world's and be exempt from insurrections by the enslaved?

Will not the South learn? Will not Charleston remember the year 1820, when she was on the brink of being handed over to fire and sword, when the American-African population were under the influence of religious ecstacy as well as reactionary hate—when the negro leaders called on their brethren in secret to remember that God delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, and Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego out of the fiery furnace? Will she not remember this, and cease to hail for reopening the slave trade, in order to have a war of extermination—extermination of the whites it would be, with fresh millions of slaves within her border? Will not Virginia, instead of reechoing the coarse insanities of a Wise on making billions of dollars by selling slaves at $5,000 a-head, and confirming slave-breeding as the chief occupation of "the Democracy"—will she not look fact in the face, and learn that her ruin can only be prevented through the abolition of the curse? Will she too not glean wisdom by her escape from an insurrection? And will not Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, improve by their deliverance from the horrors of slave insurrections, which we have now to note in our columns?

Here we have amid all the nonsense about the contented condition of the slave, amid all the lovely South-side portraits of the institution, accounts of wide-spread conspiracy—how wide-spread we know not—in different States, ready to rush forth and deluge the country in blood, evoke a war of mutual extermination, and call for Northern interference. Simply good luck this time seems to have told the masters of the conspiracy; but will the same luck attend them next time? Here the whole negro population of those portions of the country are apprized that such a thing as a conspiracy may be carried on. They perceive that some of the conspirators are shot, some hanged, and some whipped. They are made acquainted with the fact that one attempt was made, and therefore why not make another? What is to exempt the South from such casualties? Do they expect to be free from the control of cause and effect? Do they hope to gag the negro eternally? Why, even the Northern Democracy has turned on the Southern taskmaster—the Democracy upon whom, according to John Randolph, the South counted as she did upon her niggers.

There is progress. It cannot be barbacued or buncomed away. The South must learn that people who live upon the edge of a volcano are liable at any moment to be overwhelmed with its eruptions. But instead of seeking safety, they invite danger. They ask for more territory to be subject to the taskmaster and his cruelties, to the slave and his insurrections. They should be taught better. Although they may have believed in the sweet assurances of an Everett that no cause would so readily enlist him as a soldier as one to put down a slave insurrection—and that Everett spoke for the North—yet now that the South is faithless to her agreements, and reverses the theory of the Government, shrieks either for the reopening of the foreign importation of slaves or the boundless extension of the domestic slave trade, openly tells the mechanics and labourers of the North that they may properly be slaves in virtue simply of their toil, and we would ask what claim will the South have on the North when insurrections do come? The North has protested against the extension of slavery. It protested when Louisiana was admitted; yet Louisiana came in. It protested when Missouri came in. It protested when Texas came in. It protested when Kansas was violated. It now protests—but in the face of the protest, the elect of the fraudulent and invading Slavocracy, Whitfield, is confirmed, as a Delegate to Congress.

It is impossible to kick the patient man too hard. Let the South, with her growing insurrections, look to it. There is danger ahead, as sure as history has spoken and left words of suppressed warning. These last suppressed insurrections grew out of the discussion on Kansas. Light will penetrate. Will these discussions cease? No. They will fill the journals. They will be the main topics in newspapers and on the stump, in the public councils and in private conversations, through the thirty-one States. Can all this writing, all this printing, all this speaking, go on and the slave not catch up what is going on? Believe it not. You may make laws defining him as "a chattel personal"—you may assert that the master has the same right over him that he has over his other animals—but these avail only to show that man errs and laws lie. The slave is not a chattel—not merely an animal. He is, first and last, now and forever, a Man. Out of this divine entity will come a just, compensatory law. Freedom must triumph. The manacles of the slave must be stricken off. Whether this future law of liberation comes with love or hate, with peace or war, with civilized softness or barbarous carnage, it is for the South to determine.

From The Boston Telegraph.

"Conscience doth make cowards of us all," and the slaveholders have just enough of that commodity to make them afraid, without having enough to compel them to do justice. It is to be hoped that the faculty will be stimulated into such activity by fear, that they will speedily set themselves at work to solve the problem which is now more than ever forced upon their attention.

The number of slaves in this country is somewhere about four millions, and it is continually growing larger. The slaves are also growing wiser every day. For this last fact the white people of the South are responsible. "Amalgamation," which is the bugbear of the South, but which is practised nowhere else, has infused into the black race white energy enough to cause a large crop of rebellions. It would be difficult enough to keep four millions of negroes in peaceful subjection; how much more difficult will it be to keep the mulatto children of the First Families in the same condition. The slaves are every day hearing more and more about the Abolitionists and the free land at the North. And they hear these things not from Northern emissaries, but from Southern men. Those who can read, and the number is not small, of this class, find enough in Southern newspapers to lead them to conversation, reflection and action.

It is curious, but true, that there is about as much anti-slavery matter printed in the pro-slavery papers as in the anti-slavery papers. The telegraphic despatches relative to debates in Congress are printed at the South, and, of course, read. Then, for the last dozen years, the staple of Democratic argument at the South against the Whigs and Americans has been that the latter were in league with the Northern Abolitionists. In reply, the Whigs and Americans held that the Democrats were liable to the same charge. Of course the slaves obtained from this controversy a knowledge of the fact that an anti-slavery party existed at the North, and if they believed the exaggerated stories in relation to it, of the Southern papers, it is no wonder that they believed Fremont's election would be the signal for a general and immediate emancipation, as it undoubtedly would have been for a peaceful and gradual movement among the Southerners themselves. We heard a story the other day, illustrative of the degree of knowledge prevalent among the slaves on anti-slavery topics. A rabid slavite in the course of a morning called upon a family where there were several household slaves, and took occasion to abuse Senator Sumner in the worst terms. Before he left the house, he called for a glass of water, and the lady of the house sent one of the servants for it. He was gone a great while, and the mistress went to seek him and ask the reason for the delay. He told her he would see the man die of thirst before he would give him a glass of water—"a man who could speak so of Mr. Sumner." And the other servants were found to be of the same mind.

The peaceful movement preparatory for emancipation, which would have followed Fremont's election, must now be initiated under less favourable circumstances. The slaves have found out that there are considerably more than a million of men in the North who are anti-slavery men, to a greater or less extent; that they control eleven States, and that their number and their power are not likely to be reduced. Of course they will be uneasy hereafter to a greater degree than they have ever been. It is impossible to convince them that they are rightfully in servitude. It is not probable that the ablest sermon ever preached upon the return of Onesimus or the curse against Canaan ever convinced a slave that it was right that *he* should be enslaved. And it is greatly to be feared that constitutional arguments, no matter how able and conclusive, in favour of the right to hold negroes as property in the United States, are wholly wasted upon that class of our population. This may be evidence of ignorance or perversity sufficient to condemn them as outcasts and beyond the pale of humanity, but we are inclined to think the better of them for it. At any rate there is no denying the fact that they are uneasy. This is admitted on all hands. What shall be done to quiet them? Will it do any good to abuse and vituperate the North and the anti-slavery movement? Not the least. That movement can no more be stayed in its progress than can the "dark ages" (so called because they were not remarkably dark) be brought back. Can Union-savers, politicians or clergymen aid in this emergency? Would a Commission, or Board, consisting of Rev. Nehemiah Adams, the Hon. Washington Hunt and Ex-President Fillmore, be likely to effect anything? Or would Mr. Winthrop, with his chloroform bottle and sponge, produce any somnific results adequate to the occasion? We fear not. The slaveholders must take hold and solve the problem themselves. They will be "minding their own business" in the strictest manner—and this is the task they wish to enforce upon the North. There is nothing in the Constitution which forbids discussion and agitation at the South; and if there was, the South would pay no attention to it, if it interfered with their interests. They are at full liberty to seek a remedy for their troubles, and if they desire co-operation at the North, in a friendly way, they can have it. We advise them, however, in that case, to forego their plans for reducing the North to political subjection. And the difficulty they are now experiencing in taking care of their present slave population ought to teach them that the importation of new thousands from Africa will be an experiment rather more hazardous to themselves than to anybody else.

From The Indiana State Journal.

The true secret of the wide-spread discontent which has thus broken forth all over the country lies in the conduct and language of the slavery party. They have denounced the Republicans as meddlers with the "institution," and for party purposes have lied about their strength as well as their designs. They have represented the movement in the North as an abolition attack upon slavery, and screamed themselves hoarse over the insecurity of their property, and the nefarious designs of their enemies. Their slaves have heard *them*, not their opponents. And what could slaves think from such speeches as we heard here in Indiana, and read of all over the country, but that a vast and powerful party was forming at the North to set them free. Their masters told them so, and what could they know else? What could they believe but that the progress and strength of this party were so great that their masters were alarmed, and that really a day of deliverance was at hand? Every speech that they heard from their owners was a lamentation over the danger that "Black Republicanism" was bringing upon the institution, and every debate between rival parties was a dispute as to which would do the most to crush the terrible giant. Could the most diabolical "Abolitionist" take a better way to excite the hopes, and kindle the hate, of the slave? The masters have only themselves to thank, if their negroes have acquired the belief that a great Northern party was organizing to free them, and have got exaggerated notions of that party's power. The master, to serve his party ends, has lied about the Republican movement, and his slave has believed him. Lies, like curses, come home to roost. These gentlemen may find; some day, that they will loose nothing by telling the truth even of their opponents. The insurrections of Virginia, Tennessee, Maryland, Kentucky, Arkansas, Missouri, are all directly traceable to the exaggerated ideas that slaves have learned from their masters' lying speeches, of the purposes of the Republican party. It is a righteous retribution, though a quicker one than Heaven usually sends, upon the falsehoods and malignity that have marked the conduct of the pro-slavery men of the South towards their Northern opponents.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1856.

*ALBERT BARNES IN DEFENCE OF THE CHURCH.**

It will be remembered by Abolitionists—the rest of the world did not care enough about it either to notice or remember—that, when the statements respecting slavery in Dr. Wayland's *Moral Philosophy* were found to interfere with the patronage of Brown University by young gentlemen from the South, that distinguished Baptist wrote another book on the *Limitations of Human Responsibility*, designed to show that however bad Southern slavery might be, the people of the North were not responsible for it, and thus had little or no call to interfere with it.

In like manner, Rev. Albert Barnes, of Philadelphia, has now taken the back track in relation to slavery. He has heretofore been known, in connection with that subject, by a certain amount of effort to arouse the Church to disconnect herself with slavery; and he has had the credit of saying that slavery could not exist an hour out of the Church if it were not sustained within it. In the work now before us, he denies that the Church is the bulwark of slavery, and claims that the New School Presbyterian Church, with which he is specially connected, occupies exactly the right ground in regard to that subject.

In answer to the question, What is the actual influence of the Church at large in regard to slavery? Mr. Barnes says, p. 28, "It is not true that the Church is in any proper sense the bulwark of slavery; * * * and, taking the Church at large in our own country, it is not true that it sustains or defends the system." Again he says, p. 48, "The Church, as such, is *not* the bulwark of slavery; the Church, as such, is not the advocate for slavery; the Church, as such, is not the apologist for slavery."

So much for Mr. Barnes's testimony respecting the Church at large. But on p. 42 he says, "My main object is to inquire into the actual position of my own denomination in regard to slavery, and the particular duty of that branch of the Church of Christ." We will now state, in the author's own words, his answers to both these questions—his statements respecting the *actual position* of the New School Presbyterian Church, and also its particular *duty*, in regard to slavery.

Chapter IV. takes up a preliminary question—"The position of the Presbyterian Church before the division, in 1838, on the subject of slavery." Upon this point, Mr. Barnes says: "The questions to be considered are—

"What have been the *expressed sentiments* of that Church on the subject?

"What is its position, according to the fair interpretation of the *sentiments which it has expressed*, in respect to it?

"What is the legitimate tendency or bearing of the *measures which it has taken* in regard to slavery?

"What would be the result if its own *expressed principles* were carried out?

"And what is *the duty* of that Church, and of the Church at large, on the subject?"

The italics in the above questions are ours. And we beg the reader, before going further, to read again these five questions, and to notice with what candour, fairness and comprehensiveness the ground of inquiry is laid out. It proposes a thorough scrutiny into, first, the expressed sentiments of the Presbyterian Church; next, their actual measures; and, finally, their duty, if any duty remains undone. The plan is perfect; and the well-known *piety* of Rev. Albert Barnes is our warrant for the faithful carrying out of its details. Indeed his own satisfaction with this mode of stating the matter is so absolute, that before going into the evidence, he stops to claim credit to his New School branch as the rightful inheritor of whatever anti-slavery merit existed in the original Presbyterian trunk. We add our humble testimony to the lawyer-like skill manifested in arranging the language of the above questions; and our readers shall judge, after having heard the evidence, whether even Rufas Choate or Caleb Cushing could have done it better.

The earliest expression of Presbyterian sentiment which Mr. Barnes finds it to his purpose to quote (p. 54) was adopted in 1787, by the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, before the General Assembly was constituted. It merely recommends gradual emancipation, without declaring slaveholding a sin, or excluding slaveholders from the perfectly good standing which they then held, as they have ever since continued to hold, in that Church.

We next come to the important document upon which the argument of Mr. Barnes's whole book is founded, and which we give at full length, with our author's italics and capitals, as follows (pp. 54–56):

"In the year 1818, the General Assembly adopted the following remarkable and well-known resolutions with entire unanimity:

"'The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of SLAVERY, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it to the churches and people under their care.

"'We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God which requires us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ, which enjoin that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system; it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependent on the will of others whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the Gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbours and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery—consequences not imaginary, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed often take place in fact and in their very worst degree and form; and where all of them do not take place, as we rejoice to say that in many instances, through the influence of the principles of humanity and religion on the minds of masters, they do not, still the slave is deprived of his natural right, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

"'From this view of the consequences, resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their *brethren* of mankind—for "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth"—it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery, both with the dictates of humanity and religion, has been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest and unwearied endeavours to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world.

"'We rejoice that the Church to which we belong commenced, as early as any other in this country, the good work of endeavouring to put an end to slavery, and that in the same work many of its members have ever since been, and now are, among the most active, vigorous and efficient labourers. We do, indeed, tenderly sympathize with those portions of our Church and our country where the evil of slavery has been entailed upon them; where a *great*, and *the most virtuous*, *part* of the *community* abhor slavery, and wish its extermination as sincerely as any others; but where the number of slaves, their ignorance, and their vicious habits generally, render an immediate and universal emancipation inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and the slave. With those who are thus circumstanced, we repeat that we tenderly sympathize. At the same time, we earnestly exhort them to continue, and, if possible, to increase, their exertions TO EFFECT A TOTAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern than a regard to the public welfare *truly* and *indispensably* demands.

"'*The manifest violation or disregard of the injunction here given, in its true spirit and intention, ought to be considered as just ground for the discipline and censures of the Church. And if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor, in our communion, shall sell a slave who is also in communion and good standing with our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper Church judicature; and, unless there be such peculiar circumstances attending the case as can but seldom happen, it ought to be followed, without delay, by a suspension of the offender from all the privileges of the Church till he repent and make all the reparation in his power to the injured party.*'"

In the ten pages following this document, Mr. Barnes states five points which he wishes to have considered as expressing the proper character and real import of the resolutions, and as including their most practical and effective parts. We give the material idea of each point in his own words, and we shall then add such comments, both upon the document and the exposition, as a full understanding of them seems to us to require.

"1. This document * * was unanimously adopted by the Assembly. It does not appear even to have excited any opposition in debate; nor is there any evidence that its sentiments gave rise to any discussion. There is no evidence that it met with any opposition from any part of the Church after the adjournment of the Assembly; but it seems to have been as unanimously acquiesced in by the Church at large as it had been by the Assembly. * * It has never been changed or modified, in a period of nearly forty years, either by the Church when united or by either body since the division.

"2. These resolutions put the Presbyterian Church on an elevated and honourable position in regard to the evil of slavery.

"3. The resolutions of the Assembly contemplated the entire removal of slavery, and are such as would now be charged with radical abolitionism. There is not one word of apology for the system; there is no attempt made to show that it is a 'patriarchal' institution; there is no appeal to the Bible as originating or sustaining it; there is no hint that the apostles placed the relation of 'master and servant' on the same basis as the relation of parent and child, master and apprentice, guardian and ward; there is no intimation that the system is to be perpetual in the Church or in the world; there is no saving clause in favour of the relation itself, while the *abuses* of the system only are attacked; there is the most decided, absolute and unqualified condemnation *of the system itself*, as evil, and only evil—a system fraught with nothing but evil—a system to be abolished as soon as it could be done. Thus, the Assembly says, 'We regard the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another *as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature, as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ.*' Again, they say, 'It is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day to use their honest, earnest and unwearied endeavours AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE *to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the* COMPLETE ABOLITION OF slavery *throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world.*' So, again, they speak of their desire that all suitable exertion should be made 'TO EFFECT A TOTAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.' So, again, they speak of '*the duty indisputably incumbent on all Christians to labour for* ITS COMPLETE EXTINCTION.'

"This language looks to the entire extinction of slavery—the complete emancipation of every slave—as the end to be contemplated; and the purpose expressed by the Assembly could *not* be carried out except by universal emancipation. The aim, the tendency, the object, is *abolitionism*; and the Assembly of 1818 was to all intents and purposes an abolition Assembly. An assemblage of men in the Presbyterian Church, or in any other Church, or unconnected with any Church, which should now adopt the same resolutions, would be characterized and would be extensively denounced as an abolition body; and if perchance there were members in such an assemblage from the slaveholding States, they would regard it as their duty to protest against such doctrines; to write soothing letters to their Churches, expressing their dissent from these doctrines, and apologizing for their remaining in connection with a body of men which held and promulgated such views. In neither branch of the Presbyterian Church—perhaps in almost no other Church in the land—could such resolutions now be carried unanimously, or carried at all without solemn protests and warnings against the exciting and disorganizing tendencies of such doctrines. Yet these are the solemn, recorded, unrepealed and unmodified doctrines of the Presbyterian Church, Old School and New, on the subject of slavery. These sentiments have been before the world for nearly forty years as the doctrine of the Church on the subject. These are the principles which are now professedly held by both branches of the Presbyterian Church. These, till repealed, constitute *a proper basis* for any action upon the subject of slavery; and these would lead to, and would justify, a continued agitation of the subject until the conscience of the Church should be so reached as wholly to detach itself from all connection with the system. The existence of slavery in the Church is INCONSISTENT with these avowed principles; and consistency in either body will never be secured until these principles are carried out by universal emancipation.

"4. According to the principles involved in these papers of the Assembly, the holding of slaves is presumptive evidence of a man's not being in good standing in the Church. * * * There is an implied censure—an expression of condemnation—on the man who sustains this relation. If he is to be regarded as in good standing—as acting in that relation consistently with the Christian character—it is for him to make out the case by showing that he sustains this relation by the necessity of the case; that he does not hold his slaves as property for the purpose of sale; that he is making all reasonable and practicable efforts for their emancipation; that he contemplates their freedom, and that he is willing to avail himself of any practicable method of promoting it.

"5. It is clear, from these resolutions, that, in the apprehension of that Assembly, slaveholding *may* become a proper subject of discipline in the Church. Thus, the resolutions affirm that, 'if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor, in our communion, shall sell a slave who is also in communion and good standing in our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper Church judicature. And unless there be such peculiar circumstances attending the case as can but seldom happen, it ought to be followed, without delay, by a suspension of the offender from all the privileges of the Church, till he repent and make all the reparation in his power to the injured party.' It is, indeed, to be regretted that the Assembly did not include *every* case of selling a slave, whether a member of the Church or not, and that a distinction should have been even *implied* in regard to those who are not members of the Church—as if that might be proper treatment toward one which would be sin against the other; but still, the declaration is explicit, that an act which is not uncommon in all slave States, and which may occur under the system anywhere, is a proper subject for discipline in the Church, and should exclude from its communion."

Mr. Barnes closes this chapter of remarks with the following statement:

"Such are some of the things implied in this remarkable act of the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. These resolutions have never been repealed by any act of the entire Church when united, or by any act of either of the branches of the Church since the division. Their propriety has never, by any public act, been called in question. They stand upon the records of the Presbyterian Church; they have been published in the 'Digests' containing documents regarded as of peculiar value; they have been sent abroad to the world; they committed the Presbyterian Church to a well-defined course of policy and action. They belong, as the common inheritance, to both branches of the Church. Whatever merit they may claim belongs to both those branches; whatever obloquy they may be supposed to deserve belongs to one as much as to the other. Both branches of the Church are COMMITTED to these views, and to whatever course of policy they may legitimately lead on this great subject."

We have gone into this length of quotation for the purpose of doing full justice to Mr. Barnes, and of enabling our readers to judge for themselves of the character of his commentary on the long document adopted by the General Assembly in 1818. That document is Mr. Barnes's arsenal for the defence of the Presbyterian Church. It is the foundation of the whole book, the misrepresentations and sophistries of which we are now about to unravel. The complete refutation of them all is contained in the document itself; but Mr. Barnes is well assured, by a long experience, of the readiness of Presbyterian church-members to look at things through the spectacles which he provides for them; and he can trust those of his clerical brethren who share with him the leadership of the sectarian world consciously to echo and endorse his dishonesty, with voices and faces as solemn as his own. Thus *The Independent* gives high praise and thorough endorsement to the book before us.

Before proceeding to our own statement of the character and practical influence of the document of 1818, our readers must understand that throughout the remaining details of the book Mr. Barnes constantly refers back to this as the original and sufficient authority for his attempted exculpation of his Church. At least a dozen times, with every variety of solemn phrase, he repeats the substance of his five-headed paraphrase and commentary (already quoted) upon that document. If we show him to have misrepresented its contents and character, and especially if we show a *designed* misrepresentation, in which an arrangement of words as cautious and crafty as jesuitism itself could frame, is used to conceal the inconsistency of that document, to veil from the reader its pro-slavery portions, and to represent the whole as anti-slavery in character, purpose and tendency—then, we say, the book throughout must bear the same condemnation, and not only fall of its purpose, but stand a convicted and baffled imposture.

Mr. Barnes repeatedly and exultingly proclaims that the Presbyterian resolutions of 1818 were unanimously adopted—that they have never been repealed—that they have ever since expressed the sentiment of that Church—and that both its branches now stand COMMITTED to them. Be it so. We hold *him* committed to this statement, and to such inferences as inevitably follow from the fact that these same resolutions expressly recognise slaveholders as true Christians—expressly admit as valid the ridiculous pretence that slaveholding has "been entailed" upon the slaveholders against their will—expressly announce, and repeat, that they "tenderly sympathize" with the slaveholders—expressly allow a present continuance of slaveholding—expressly discourage immediate emancipation, declaring it to be "inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and slave"—expressly admit that circumstances may justify a Christian in selling, "contrary to his or her will and inclination," a slave who is "also in communion and good standing" with the same Church—and expressly allot *suspension* from the Church, instead of excommunication, as the penalty for selling a fellow-Christian as property *without* such justifying circumstances.

We beg our readers to refer back to this much-vaunted document of 1818, to read in their connection these concessions (which we have noted in the order in which they occur) of everything essential to the indefinite continuance of slavery in good and regular standing in the Presbyterian Church, and then to consider the audacious hardihood of Mr. Barnes's representation that in this document "the aim, the tendency, the object, is *abolitionism*; and the Assembly of 1818 was to all intents and purposes an abolition Assembly." Nobody knows better than Albert Barnes that abolitionism demands *immediate* and *unconditional* emancipation by every slaveholder, as a necessary inference from the fact that slaveholding is *sin*. But the honest statement of this did not suit his purpose.

Does any one ask—How came such strong and repeated expressions of censure against slavery into the very document containing these concessions in its favour? The answer is—A small, despised and constantly defeated minority in the Presbyterian Church wished to cast slavery out of that body, disturbed its quiet from time to time with that question, and did what they could in an anti-slavery direction *short of coming out* of that brotherhood of thieves, shaking off the dust of their feet against them, and exposing the falseness of their pretension to be a Church of Christ. To preserve peace and quietness in their churches, and prevent both secession and further discussion, the pro-slavery majority agreed that the *general* statements of anti-slavery truth contained in the resolutions might stand as the voted and recorded testimony of the Church, if these could be accompanied by such *special concessions* as would enable them to retain, for an indefinite period, both their slaves and their good standing in the Church. The minority were weak enough to make this suicidal compromise; and the consequence is that while dishonest men like Albert Barnes can claim the solemn *talk* which makes the bulk of that document as proving its anti-slavery character, the slaveholding *brethren* can quote his own document against him and prove themselves justified by it. They can show, out of the very paper which he claims as "abolitionism," that their slaveholding is not voluntary, but that "the evil of slavery has been *entailed* upon them"; that so far from being oppressors, they are unfortunate persons, with whom the resolutions "*tenderly sympathize*"; that "the number of slaves, their ignorance and their vicious habits generally, render an *immediate* and universal emancipation inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and the slave"; that they practise no greater delay in their progress towards gradual emancipation "than a regard to *the public welfare* truly and indispensably demands"; and, finally, that if they *do* sell a brother or sister in good standing in the same Church, it is under the pressure of just "*such peculiar circumstances*" as the resolutions contemplate and provide for.

How preposterous, how monstrous is the claim that a document so self-contradictory as this, the good part of which is merely talk and profession, while the bad part is practically operative law, can have the force and the merit of abolitionism!

But not only does Mr. Barnes misstate the scope and character of this document as a whole: he makes elaborately false representations of the force and efficacy of particular parts, and of the real import of its adoption.

Let us next examine the five heads of his commentary.

The first, p. 57, represents the *unanimous* acceptance of the resolutions, *without opposition* and *without discussion*, as proving that the Presbyterian Church at large agreed, with similar unanimity, in those parts of the document which condemn slavery. This theory certainly accounts for the absence of opposition and discussion of *those parts*; but it fails to account for, and is absolutely inconsistent with, two other facts, namely—the incorporation in the document of provisions *expressly allowing* and *excusing* the present and indefinite continuance of slavery—and the *actual* continuance of that atrocious system under the protection of the Presbyterian Church to the present hour. If Mr. Barnes's false statement on p. 60—"The aim, the tendency, the object, is *abolitionism*; and the Assembly of 1818 was to all intents and purposes an abolition Assembly"—had been a *true* statement, the practical provisions of that document would have been conformed in character to its solemn *talk*; the strong and just condemnation of slavery *in the abstract* in the former half of it would not have been immediately contradicted, and rendered null and void, by the recognition of those who live in that wickedness *as Christians*, by the censure of immediate emancipation, by the permission still to hold the slaves in bondage, and by the suggestion of plausible excuses to those *brethren* who had too much conscience, or too little impudence, to *attempt* the verbal justification of a mode of life which the document itself elsewhere declares "totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the Gospel of Christ."

We say that if these Presbyterians had been truly and heartily opposed to slavery, in the first place, they would not have inserted these pro-slavery provisions in the document—and afterwards adopted them—and afterwards printed them; and next, they would individually have emancipated their slaves at once; every church-member would have done it before the next church-meeting; and the officers of every Church would have commenced the process of excommunication of any delinquent member at the meeting following. But not only did they not do *this*; the utter hypocrisy of their conduct, and the entire falsehood of Mr. Barnes's statement, are shown by the fact that in the thirty-eight years which have since elapsed, they have not even begun, or attempted to begin, the gradual emancipation enjoined in their own document.

Now, our own theory, previously stated (of the formation of the document of 1818 by compromise between a weak minority and a strong majority), accounts for all three of the facts in question—the abundance of pious *talk* against slavery in the first half of that document—the provisions for allowing church-members still to hold slaves in the second half—and their actual unchecked continuance in slaveholding to the present hour; and because it does thus account for the facts, we hold it to be the true theory.

Yet, in the face of these facts, in spite of the absolute demonstration of thirty-eight years that the pious talk of the resolutions is *only* talk—mere bunkum, bosh, palaver, or whatever else will best express words without meaning—and that the practical pro-slavery part has fallen upon fertile ground, and sprung up, and borne such abundant fruit—Mr. Barnes has the assurance to say, in his second item of comment, "These resolutions put the Presbyterian Church on an elevated and honourable position in regard to the evil of slavery."

The whole language of his third comment, which we have copied above in full, shows the deceptive purpose with which Mr. Barnes has written. He magnifies, and expands, and paraphrases the solemn *talk* as if it were substantial and sincere, and utterly ignores the crafty practical provisions which have kept slavery sheltered in his Church to the present hour.

Equally obvious is the crafty dishonesty of the language used in Mr. Barnes's fourth comment upon the resolutions. He says—"According to the principles involved in these papers of the Assembly, the holding of slaves is presumptive evidence of a man's not being in good standing in the Church." According to *which* of the principles? for the document is self-contradictory and suicidal, containing statements as opposite to each other as light to darkness. But Mr. Barnes carefully overlooks that characteristic of his Magna Charta, insists upon recognising only the theoretical right, ignores the practical darkness, and thus evading the *letter* of a lie, unhesitatingly endorses its substance and spirit. Any such meaning of Mr. Barnes's statement above quoted as coincides with the scope and aim of his book is directly opposite to the truth. The document of 1818 exposes a slaveholder to no censure or discipline whatever from the Church until he practises, and somebody accuses him of, certain specified *abuses* of the slaveholder's relation; it not only expressly permits this relation on the part of its members, but advises them not immediately to emancipate, and gives reasons against immediate emancipation. In actual practice, therefore, aside from the preliminary pious talk, that was *meant* merely for talk by the majority which adopted it, slaveholding is not even presumptive evidence against a Presbyterian's good standing in the Church. He is not even called upon to make out a case, and use the excuses which the document of 1818 furnishes for him, unless he is accused of an *abuse* of the system; and the character of the Presbyterian Church is a pretty safe warrant that no member of it will take the trouble to accuse him, even if his whole life is such an abuse.

Under his fifth and last head of paraphrase of the document of 1818, Mr. Barnes adds to the dishonesty previously practised a rather too obvious contempt for the intelligence, even of his Presbyterian readers. For, after declaring it "clear, from these resolutions, that, *in the apprehension of that Assembly*, slave*holding* may become a proper subject of discipline in the Church"—he quotes, in pretended proof of this, the recommendation of the document not to *sell* a certain peculiar class of slaves without the concurrence of certain "peculiar circumstances"—*regrets* that the Assembly did not include *every* case of *selling* a slave—quotes more specifications of *abuse* which the document says "*ought* to be considered just ground for the discipline and censures of the Church"—and then has the astounding impudence to ask, "Is it not fairly implied, in these resolutions of the Assembly, that the *act of slaveholding*, unless it can be made out to be a case of *necessity or humanity*, may properly be regarded as a subject of discipline in the Church?" Our readers will see that, besides the absurd *non sequitur* of undertaking to prove slave*holding* disciplinable by recommendations not to practise certain specified contingent abuses of slavery, Mr. Barnes admits that slaveholding *may* "be made out to be a case of necessity or humanity." This shows how little he has profited by the pious talk of his favourite document. He is ready to admit, as the real dictate of necessity and humanity, what *that* declares "totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ."

Mrs. Opie's book must be enlarged before it can do justice to Mr. Barnes's; it should have a chapter on compound, thrice-distilled, doubled-and-twisted lies.

After intimating that the Old School Presbyterians are very unworthy successors of the saints who unanimously voted the resolutions of 1818, Mr. Barnes says, p. 68, "I propose now to show that the action of the New School branch of the Church is such as to evince, in good faith, a purpose to carry out those resolutions, and to secure, by all proper and *constitutional* means, the end contemplated by them"; which he proceeds falsely to represent as an anti-slavery end, quoting, as before, its solemn general observations against slavery, and saying nothing about the repeated and specific permissions of its indefinite continuance in the Church. We shall shortly see, moreover, that he proposes to use the word "constitutional" for the defence of slavery in the Church, as thoroughly as Moses Stuart and Daniel Webster did for its defence in the State. Here, as before, his remarks are crowded with misrepresentation. He says, as showing the true position of the New School Presbyterian Church—

"1. The subject has been most freely *discussed* in the New School General Assembly. No one has been discussed more freely." He might have added—No one has been opposed more strenuously and effectively. But he craftily uses the fact that a pertinacious minority *would* keep bringing the subject forward, as evidence of a noble determination by the great body of the Church to maintain freedom of discussion; he actually boasts (as if so much advance were an honour, instead of so little advance being a disgrace) that the New School General Assembly were more tolerant of the discussion of slavery than the houses of Congress were at that time; and he praises the Presbyterian advocates of slavery as having "listened to arguments to prove that it is contrary to the Bible, and fraught with innumerable evils to the bodies and souls of men, with a candour, a degree of patience, and a measure of *Christian forbearance*, which has greatly commended them to the confidence of their *brethren*."

We beg our readers to fix their minds for a moment on the concentrated absurdity involved in this last quotation, on the supposition that Mr. Barnes's theory of the character of the Assembly and their resolutions is true. They unanimously vote that slavery is "totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ." Some of them, however, are *advocates* of slavery, expressing the determination of their constituents to maintain it; and when some members, instead of moving the impeachment and expulsion of persons avowing a position thus *irreconcilable* with Christianity, content themselves with patiently stating and proving this irreconcilableness, Mr. Barnes commends the culprits for the "Christian forbearance" with which they listen to their arraignment and conviction, states that they are commended thereby to the "confidence" of their "brethren," and has nothing to say in censure of their audacious wickedness, either in defending slavery at that time or in practising it to the present hour! Of what use was the unanimous vote in 1818, which, then asserting that slavery was totally irreconcilable with Christianity, did not prevent the voters themselves from being both advocates and practisers of slaveholding from that time to the present hour?

Mr. Barnes exults over the disappointment of the Old School Presbyterians, who "hoped to make capital from the agitation of this subject by the portion of the Church which they had excluded, and watched, with the keen, observing eye of prospective gain, to have the New School body fall to pieces under the discussion," and boasts that not a Presbytery, nor a Church, not a man, has left his party in consequence of the discussion, while he keeps silence respecting the much more important fact that *neither has slavery left it*—and the reason of that fact, namely, that the resolutions provide for the continuance of slavery.

Under the same item he boasts of the "honest effort" in which his party have continued from 1818 to 1856, "to know what is true and right"—regardless of the absolute discrepancy of this statement with the facts of their *unanimous knowledge

this specification of the "offence," which he hypocritically represents as an important *advance*. So slavery was, and still is, sheltered under the wing of the Church.

This whole matter lies in a nutshell. Nobody complained of any slaveholding minister or lay brother, to the Presbytery or Session to which he belonged; all the members were agreed in the determination to sustain slavery. Of course, no complaint being made, the Session or Presbytery did nothing about it. The Synod which had supervision over that slaveholding Session did nothing about it, because they also wished to sustain slavery. The Assembly, which had supervision over that Synod, would not use its constitutional power to cite the Synod for neglect of duty, but kept *solemnly* talking to the Presbyteries and Sessions, over whom they had no direct authority, and who, they well knew, would neither dodge a complaint nor do anything until a complaint was lodged. Thus they have continued, from 1818 to the present time, "solemnly" running round Robin Hood's barn.

The satisfaction of the Assembly in this state of things is obvious from these four facts—their failure to use their "constitutional" power of citing the slavery-protecting Synods—their constant permission of the continuance of slaveholding *for the present*—their positive discouragement of immediate emancipation—and their repeatedly expressed "tender sympathy with the slaveholders." If any one asks, Why did they keep hypocritically repeating the solemn talk against slavery? we answer, they greatly wished to avoid further separations in their Church; and they found, upon trial, that by this sort of lip-service they could keep in their communion that small minority at the North who *would* bring up the subject for discussion, and who, without that outlet for their zeal, might have bolted from the Church altogether, though they were weak enough to take this "flap-doddle" in the place of nutritious food. These things explain every detail and element of the Assembly's position.

In 1851, the New School Assembly voted to leave the whole subject as before.

In 1853, they solemnly *and prayerfully* voted these three things:

1. To reaffirm that resolution of 1850, which allowed the continuance of slaveholding and supplied excuses for it, declaring some cases of it to be "unavoidable" and other cases to be "an offence."

2. To recommend sympathy with slaveholding *brethren* "in consequence of the *peculiar trials* with which they are surrounded."

3. For the purpose of allaying "causeless irritation" at the North, "to request the Presbyteries in each of the slaveholding States to take such measures as may seem *to them* most expedient and proper," to furnish the next Assembly with certain statistics in reference to their slaveholding.

Of course they knew that this request would be received by the slaveholders with disregard and contempt, and they were well contented with either or both of these results, as furnishing the desired excuse to *them* for standing still another two years. And Mr. Barnes, with a coolness which is no less than astounding, even in him, approves and justifies this quiescence in the following words (p. 97):

"It was obviously proper that the Assembly should press the subject no further, and Christian courtesy and the desire to avoid any additional cause of irritation demanded that no notice should be taken of the neglect of the Southern Churches to adopt the mode proposed. * * Accordingly, the Assembly *properly* dropped the subject."

Only think what this implies. The highest Presbyterian judicatory, finding its remonstrance to its subordinates respecting their habitual indulgence in a practice "totally irreconcilable with Christianity" answered by the contemptuous recommendation to mind their own business, *properly* drops the subject. Such is the judgment of Albert Barnes. Think, on the other hand, how a *true* minister of the Gospel would act, when his gentle remonstrance to a parishioner, on some habitual conduct of the latter "totally irreconcilable with Christianity," is contemptuously rejected; what would be his amazement at hearing the opinion volunteered by a third person, that *Christian courtesy* required him to press the subject no further; and what would be his disgust if, on turning to see in what form Satan presented himself to offer this counsel, he should find it to have been given by an aged clergyman, bearing a high reputation for *piety*. Truly, if Mr. Barnes's popular commentary on the Bible teaches that Christian courtesy requires a minister to abstain from the rebuke of popular sin, his influence in corrupting the morals of men will exceed even that of his brethren, President Lord and South-Side Adams.

The next meeting of the Assembly, in 1855, reaffirmed the self-contradictory testimonies of former Assemblies in relation to slavery, expressed "their deep regret at the intemperateness of word and action which has too often characterized the spirit of those who have conscientiously aimed at its overthrow," and appointed that committee to inquire into the constitutional power of the Assembly over slavery, whose report, in the present year, we have already given.

Here, then, we have before us the position of the New School Presbyterians in regard to slavery. Their ministers and church-members hold slaves and defend slavery; their churches allow these things, and their Synods allow them, without remonstrance; but their General Assembly, whose object it is to retain quietly in the connection at once the defenders of slavery, the objectors to it, and the far larger number of persons totally indifferent on that subject, trims between three parties, and publishes, every two or three years, a manifesto containing the following discordant elements.

1. Denunciation of slavery:
2. Permission of it for the present:
3. Justification of it:
4. Sympathy with those who practise it:
5. Censure of those who oppose it.

Now, what does Mr. Albert Barnes say of this position, which his Church has steadily maintained from 1818 to the present hour? He says, p. 120, "Such a position I regard *as a noble position*." And *The Independent* gives unqualified and high commendation to his jesuitical attempt to make the religious public believe this. And Mr. Barnes's one sole contribution of light upon any possibly existing *further* duty of the New School Presbyterians upon this subject is, a recommendation that the slaveholders among them should, gradually, and some time or other, but not now, "detach themselves from slavery"; without a word as to the duty of the Church to excommunicate those who should refuse so to *detach themselves*, even though they should continue, from year to year, to flourish their claim of a right to hold slaves in the face of the General Assembly.

Since the New School Presbyterians evidently value peace and quietness much more highly than purity in their Church, they will show themselves the most ungrateful of men if they do not properly estimate and reward the sacrifice which Dr. Barnes has made in their behalf. It is related by Sheridan that, going towards home one night quite drunk, and finding one of his boon companions lying helpless in the gutter, he said to him—"My dear friend, I can't help you up, but I will give you the next strongest evidence of my friendship; I will lie down beside you." Dr. Barnes has emulated and exceeded this instance of self-devotion. For the credit of his beloved Church, he has not only shared the shame of her position, and refrained from individually going forward to a better position, but he has given the credit of his name and his reputation for piety to a deliberately and elaborately false representation of that Church's actual relation to slavery. It might appropriately be recorded, in large letters, on the cover of his book, as on a grave-stone—Hic jacet—Here he LIES!

MASSACHUSETTS DISUNION CONVENTION.

We find the call for a Massachusetts Disunion Convention in the Boston *Telegraph*, where it appears unaccompanied by the names of those who signed it. It is as follows:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of Worcester, believing the result of the recent Presidential Election to involve four years more of Pro-Slavery Government, and a rapid increase in the hostility between the two sections of the Union;

"Believing this hostility to be the offspring, not of party excitement, but of a fundamental difference in education, habits, and laws;

"Believing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a hopeless attempt to unite under one governmenment two antagonistic systems of society, which diverge more widely with every year;

"And believing it to be the duty of intelligent and conscientious men to meet these facts with wisdom and firmness;

"Respectfully invite our fellow-citizens of Massachusetts to meet in Convention at Worcester, on Thursday, January 15, to consider the practicability, probability and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require."

A Committee of five has been appointed to make arrangements for the proposed Convention, viz.: T. W. Higginson, Theophilus Brown, H. H. Chamberlain, Dr. Seth Rogers, S. D. Tourtellott. We believe that all, or all but one, of this Committee have hitherto ranked, not as "Garrisonians," but as voting Abolitionists or Republicans. The movement thus inaugurated, however it may be sneered at and anathematized by the popular press, is one of transcendent importance and solemnity. The wisdom of those who are concerned therein will be vindicated in the eyes of all true friends of freedom at an early day. The Convention, in view of the great and truly patriotic objects for which it has been called and of the results which cannot fail to grow out of it, will mark a period in American history no whit inferior in interest to that which preceded and prepared the way for the Declaration of Independence.

CONGRESS.

In the Senate, on the 11th, John P. Hale made a pointed speech on the President's Message, in reply, especially, to Bigler of Pa. He charged the sham Democracy with carrying two faces—one for the South and another for the North. In proof of this he displayed a handbill issued by the party in Pennsylvania before the election, headed "Buchanan, Breckinridge and *Free* Kansas." And who, said Mr. Hale, were the apostles of Democracy who were announced as speakers at the meeting thus called? He read the names, among them that of Senator Bigler himself! This caused a great sensation among the Senators from the South, while Bigler blushed to his eyebrows and trembled with fear in the presence of his Southern masters. "I was not present at the meeting," said he. "A double fraud," responded Hale. "The party leaders not only announced themselves in favour of Free Kansas, but cheated the people with the false assurance that Mr. Bigler was to be one of the advocates of that doctrine." Bigler explained that "*Free* Kansas," according to the nomenclature of Democracy, meant, not freedom from slavery, but freedom to *establish* slavery without interference from Congress. Such meannesses of verbal evasion and fraud afford a striking illustration of what passes for statesmanship at the present day.

On the 16th Mr. Wilson introduced a bill to amend the Kansas Territorial act. The amendment repeals the pro-slavery laws of the bogus Legislature.

In the House, on the 10th, Mr. Washburne of Maine spoke in defence of the Republican party. He was interrogated by Mr. Smith of Virginia, to know if a new State should apply for admission into the Union with a Constitution asking the right to form her own institutions if she would have his vote.

Mr. WASHBURNE—When that question comes up, I shall meet it and vote as circumstances guide me. Now, I will ask the gentleman from Virginia a question: If Utah should apply for admission into the Union, with a Constitution establishing polygamy, will she receive his vote? (Laughter.)

Mr. SMITH—When the gentleman answers my question, I will reply to his (laughter).

Mr. COBB of Alabama—Good! That is Yankee eat Yankee! (Continued laughter.)

Mr. SMITH—I repeat the question.

Mr. WASHBURNE—And I repeat mine (roars of laughter).

The unwillingness of Mr. Washburne to give a direct answer to the question of Mr. Smith indicates that the Republican party has not yet made up its mind to oppose the admission of new slave States to the Union. How absurd to rely upon such a party to defend the cause of freedom—a party which dares not plant itself upon any vital principle, but is always careful to keep open a back-door through which it may escape from the foe!

Mr. Giddings, on the same day, made a characteristic speech. Planting himself upon the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence as upon an impregnable rock, and setting aside all merely collateral issues, he dealt his giant blows upon the very head of slavery, pronouncing it a sin against God and a crime against man. He arraigned the Democratic party and the President as false to the great principles of human freedom, and claimed that the Republican party was founded upon those principles and had affirmed its faith in them in the late struggle. "Is the member from South Carolina" (Mr. Keitt), he exclaimed, "ready to stand by them? If he is not present, I ask any member of the Democratic party, North or South, whether that party is ready to stand by these doctrines? But, sir, such is the response which I always get to my well-defined interrogatories. Men from the South unequivocally deny this truth; men of that party in the North dare not speak in the affirmative. There they sit. If they were to answer in the negative, they would be cast off by their constituents; if in the affirmative, they will be repudiated by the South. Thus they vibrate between heaven and hell, uncertain in which they will land (laughter). From my soul I pity them; I pity any man who dares not avow honestly the sentiments which God has implanted in his bosom. There the members of the Democratic party sit in silence, giving their tacit consent to the correctness of this sentiment, which I regard as nothing less than a libel upon those patriot fathers around whose names the glorious recollections of our early history now cluster. In this Hall we had, during the last session, a long argument from the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Stephens), to the effect that slavery was an institution sanctioned of Heaven, and established by the Almighty. Abraham was referred to as the manifestation of the will of God, and declared to be a slaveholder and a slave-dealer. At the same time another distinguished individual was proclaiming in the Far West, among the mountains of Deseret, that polygamy was also an institution of God. Brigham Young, with his retinue of threescore wives, vindicated his doctrines by precisely the same arguments. He referred to Abraham also. Both he and the gentleman from Georgia with great gusto appealed to the civilized world, saying, 'Have we not Abraham to our father?' (Laughter.) If Abraham be good authority in one case, he ought to be in the other."

Mr. Giddings, in reply to a question from Mr. Bennett of Mississippi, denied that he had ever used the language attributed to him in certain quarters, implying pleasure in anticipation of a bloody insurrection of the slaves. He then proceeded to say:

"But I will say to the gentleman that I abhor, I detest oppression in all its forms. I detest wrong; I hate slavery with an ineffable, unconquerable hatred. God hates it. All good men hate it. The Republican party hate it (laughter). Mankind hate it. But I have never uttered any sentiment averse to the peace and harmony and good of mankind; and when the President, or any other man, says I have, he says what is not true.

"I will, however, say this, that every human being is endowed by God himself with the inalienable rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and when I see a human being deprived of it, I hope he may regain it, at any expense of those who oppress him. Now, I ask my friend from Mississippi, do you believe that all men are endowed by the Creator with the inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Be as frank as I was. My opinion is, that God has given the gentleman from Mississippi the same right to life and liberty as he has to Franklin Pierce; and I would as soon see the President of the United States robbed of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, or his wife sold from his arms, as I would the humblest man that ever trod the footstool of God. These are my sentiments; and I have been pained to see my Republican friends stand here and defend themselves for entertaining these sentiments, when they ought to attack those who deny them. What, sir, shall Republicans stand here and excuse and justify themselves for entertaining sentiments for the support of which our fathers met the hosts of Britain upon a hundred battle-fields?"

Alluding to the charge in the President's message that the question of abolishing slavery *in the Southern States* had been agitated in Congress, Mr. Giddings said:

"Sir, if there be a man in this body who can tell me when the question of negro emancipation in the Southern States was ever agitated here or in the Senate, I beg him to do the President the justice to state it.

"Sir, I have been a member of this House longer than any other gentleman here. I have, perhaps, served longer, continuously, than any member of either branch of Congress, and I have been regarded as the most ultra Abolitionist in either House. The President probably intended to refer to me; but I say, unhesitatingly, that I never presented a petition, resolution, or proposition—I never made a motion nor delivered a speech—agitating that subject. I proposed a resolution yesterday calling on the President for any information he may possess on this subject, but it was objected to by a friend of his. So far as my knowledge, or information, or belief extends, no such proposition was ever presented in either House by any member."

The following passages from the speech will be read with interest:

Not satisfied by reading lectures to Congress, and to the Northern people generally, he next proceeds to scold our State Legislatures. Now, sir, I trust the Governors of Ohio and other free States, and the members of our State Legislatures, will not be greatly alarmed at this interference of the President in relation to the discharge of their duties. I would inform the President and his Cabinet that our Governors and members of our State Legislatures hold their offices from the people—not from him. They are accountable to the people—not to the President, nor to his Cabinet; that they are as independent of the President as the President is of them, and may lecture him with as much propriety as he can them.

Why, sir, when the President sent this message to us, men of my own State—free men—were sighing in chains in slave States, where, though born free, they were fined, imprisoned, and enslaved, under the laws of those States, and yet he pretends to deny me the right of speaking of their emancipation. Sir, what authority has he to assail Massachusetts? That State, I have no doubt, will be heard from in due time. Her citizens are imprisoned and sold into interminable bondage in South Carolina, by the laws of that State; and when you sent your agent there as a representative of the sovereignty of Massachusetts, to test in the Courts of the United States the validity of those laws, he was driven from her soil and not permitted to test the validity of those State enactments. Sir, shall Massachusetts sit quietly, with her arms folded, and see such wrongs and outrages perpetrated upon her sons—wrongs and outrages that would have produced war and bloodshed had they been inflicted by a foreign nation? I rejoice that Massachusetts has asserted her sovereignty, in declaring that her jails shall not be used to imprison fugitive slaves, and that her officers shall not disgrace that glorious old Commonwealth by playing the bloodhound in pursuing and seizing the fugitive from bondage who is fleeing to Canada.

Mr. BOYCE—I ask the gentleman from Ohio whether there is any law in any free State which prohibits the introduction of free negroes into such State?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I believe there is such a law in the Democratic State of Indiana.

Mr. BOYCE—As I heard no complaint of such a law in any of the Northern States, I thought perhaps none could have existed.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I am sorry that such laws were enacted by Democrats, even in my own State; but we did complain of them; and when the Republicans got the power they repealed them in Ohio. It only existed during the darker ages of Locofoco rule, but disappeared upon the dawn of Republican civilization (laughter).

But I was speaking of those transactions of which the President complains—of what has been done by the State of Massachusetts. Sir, I ask you to witness the shameful spectacle that is presented of a President who, from the Executive chair, undertakes to lecture the sovereign State of Massachusetts, of Vermont, Michigan, and perhaps others, for the exercise of their State sovereignty.

The President goes further, and again undertakes to lecture the people—the people who have given him power and place, and who have now sent him to a political grave. As he is about retiring from the Presidential chair, instead of praying for the welfare of those who have honoured him by their confidence—which he has betrayed—while he is looking forward to that political grave from which there will be no resurrection—instead of invoking blessings upon the heads of those who have placed him in the high official position which he occupies, he assails them with calumnious reproaches, and uses his constitutional privilege of sending a message here to villify and slander the people and their Legislatures. He lectures them for not turning out to catch the fugitive slaves who pass through those States. Sir, in what age do we live? Under what circumstances are we placed, that the President of the United States undertakes to assail and scold the people, whose servant he is, for not assisting to the utmost of their ability to prevent their fellow-men from escaping from an oppression which from their inmost souls they detest?

I never saw a panting fugitive flying from bondage that I did not pray God most earnestly to speed him in his flight and to enable him to make good his escape. The whole sympathy of my nature is at once enlisted in his behalf. I always feel anxious that he may escape from the crushing power under which he has been borne down. And yet the President assumes to lecture me because I choose to obey God rather than him. Why, sir, gentlemen may listen while I tell them that I have seen at one time nine fugitives dining in my own house—fathers, mothers, husbands, wives and children, fleeing for their liberty, and, in spite of the President's censure, I obeyed the divine mandate to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. I fed them. I clothed them. I gave them money for their journey, and sent them on their way. Was that treason? If so, make the most of it.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I want to know if the gentleman would not have gone one step further?

Mr. GIDDINGS—Yes, sir, I would have gone one step further. I would have driven the slave-catcher who dared pursue them from my premises. I would have kicked him from my door yard, if he had made his appearance there.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—Would not the gentleman have justified the taking of them by force or stealth in the first instance?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I would smite down the infamous slave-catcher if he were to enter my door in his infamous attempts to arrest and enslave a brother man. I hope the President will feel no unhappiness at what I am saying. Mr. Speaker, I make these statements in order that the people of my native State of Pennsylvania, the people of our Northern States may express their manhood, and not be held in silence by executive insolence. It is the duty of every man, it is a Christian duty, that we should speak out our honest sentiments in condemnation of those infamous crimes. But I want to speak a little further. I do not mean to speak of slavery as a mere crime. The slaveholder controls the slave by the lash. He scourges him into submission to his own will. But further than this, no person is allowed to teach a slave to read the Bible under a penalty of imprisonment. Ignorance is encouraged by a legislative enactment. Now, sir, further than this, whenever a master attempts to correct a slave and the slave resists, the master is at liberty to shoot down such slave. Thus, the master holds the power of life and death over his slave, a tyranny which sets at defiance all European despotisms.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I want the member from Ohio to draw the distinction between the slaveholder bringing his slave into subjection by the lash and the Northern men bringing their poor people into subjection by starvation.

Mr. GIDDINGS—The gentleman understands that the wife of a slave held by the master is liable to his pollutions, and dare not resist her master's approaches. He sells her children—aye, his own offspring, born of his slave—for paltry pelf. There is no such thing in the Northern code.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I would ask the gentleman from Ohio if he is not aware that in a certain case of the separation of a child from its mother, by articles of separation, a Northern man was the purchaser of the child, and not a Southern man?

Mr. GIDDINGS—I know not of the particular case referred to by the gentleman, but here, in the City of Washington, as told you by that old man eloquent, Mr. John Q. Adams, twenty years ago, a slave-dealer, reeking in iniquity, purchased a mother and child, up in Montgomery County, Md., and separated them from the husband and father and the other children, imprisoned them in that infernal hell which once existed at the corner of Seventh street and Maryland avenue. There the mother, with no eye but that of her God upon her, contemplating the past, and looking forward to the horrid future, saw the doom to which she and her children were condemned; and when her soul was wrought up with frenzy, when reason was dethroned, she took the life of her offspring, and then severed the thread of her own existence, and rushed unbidden to the presence of her God, and there made her appeal against those who uphold and apologize for slavery.

In Covington, Kentucky, a father and mother, shut up in a slave-dungeon and doomed to a Southern slave market, when there was no eye to pity and no arm to save, by mutual agreement, sent the souls of their children to Heaven rather than have them descend to the hell of slavery, and then committed suicide, and rushed into the presence of God, and made their appeal against those who now sustain crimes which rise to Heaven and call for vengeance upon our guilty land.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I desire to call the gentleman's attention to another fact. I understand the gentleman to take the position that there is no authority in the Constitution for surrendering up those who are held to service who flee from one State into another.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I do. And whenever a slave sets foot upon free soil, if I had the power, I would make him as free as the air which he breathes.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I would ask the gentleman if he is prepared to violate an express provision of the Constitution?

Mr. GIDDINGS—No, sir. I understand the Constitution of the United States; and I know that those who framed the Constitution never intended to degrade me or my fellow Republicans by making us the bloodhounds to chase the panting fugitive. Sir, I repudiate and detest such doctrine. It never was the doctrine of the Constitution and never will be.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—Another question. I ask the gentleman to draw a distinction between the provision of the Constitution which requires the rendition of slaves, and that provision of the Constitution which, in the electoral vote, gives a three-fifths representation to slaves. The words used are identically the same. In the one instance it provides for the rendition of those who are bound to service; and in the other, in fixing the ratio of representation, it uses the words, "those bound to service." And although the same words are used, the gentleman says, one means slaves and the other apprentices.

Mr. GIDDINGS—If the gentleman will propound questions to me pertinent to the subject under consideration I will listen to them until my hour expires; but I am unwilling that he should occupy my time with such interrogatories as that now proposed. It has no relation to the remarks I was making.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I desire to propound a question to the gentleman. The provision of the Constitution which the gentleman denies to be of binding force uses identically the same language as that contained in the provision giving three-fifths representation. It says that persons escaping from service shall be rendered, upon application, to him to whom that service is due. The same language is used in the other clause of the Constitution to which I referred.

Mr. GIDDINGS—I will always hear gentlemen courteously who propound questions which are directed to the subject which I am discussing; but I cannot be led off into the field which the gentleman now asks; but he must not abuse my courtesy, by misrepresenting me as denying any part of the Constitution, when I distinctly informed him that I hold to that instrument and will obey it. I was speaking of the right of the people of the North to utter their sentiments upon this question of returning fugitive slaves.

Mr. BENNETT, of Mississippi—I desire the gentleman to answer the question which I have propounded.

Mr. GIDDINGS—It takes the gentleman from Mississippi quite too long to propound questions. He has abused my courtesy and transgressed all bounds of propriety. I will not suffer him longer to encroach upon my brief hour.

It strikes us that Mr. Bennett, in his last interrogatory, hit Mr. Giddings at a weak point, though the blow was not so well aimed as it might have been. It was easier, however, to evade than to answer the question.

On the 15th inst., the following resolution was moved by Mr. Etheridge (anti-Nebraska Know-Nothing) of Tennessee, the House suspending the rules for the purpose and pressing it to a vote by the previous question:

Resolved, That this House regard all suggestions or propositions of every kind, by whomsoever made, for a revival of the slave trade, as shocking to the moral sentiments of the enlightened portion of mankind; or any act on the part of Congress legalizing or conniving at the legalizing of that horrid and inhuman traffic would justly subject the United States to the reproach and execration of all civilized and Christian people throughout the world.

The resolution was adopted, yeas 152, nays 57.

Mr. ORR, of South Carolina, immediately introduced a resolution declaring it inexpedient, unwise, and contrary to the settled policy of the United States, to repeal the laws against the slave trade; and this was adopted, yeas 183, nays 8. The weaker resolution was introduced for the relief of those who, while they could not bear the strong language of the first, did not dare to go upon the record as favourable to the slave trade.

OUR REVIEW of Albert Barnes's recently published and exceedingly pernicious work on Slavery and the Church occupies so large a portion of our space as to compel us to omit other articles intended for this number. It seemed desirable, however, for reasons which will naturally suggest themselves to every reader, that the review should not be divided.

THE INSURRECTION.—The accounts of the late insurrection of slaves in Tennessee, which will be found in other columns, will be read with deep interest. We have no space for comment.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 656, opens with an article from the *Westminister*, "Silly Novels, by Lady Novelists," and contains Part VI. of "The Athelings" and a variety of shorter articles.

APPEAL OF THE MANAGERS

OF THE TWENTY-THIRD

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

IN BEHALF OF THE CAUSE.

THE Bazaar will be opened on TUESDAY, Dec. 23, at 10 o'clock, A. M., HALL 15, WINTER STREET.

All that the Ladies-Managers resident in France, Switzerland and Italy could do, as well as those at home, conjointly with their friends in Great Britain, has been already successfully done, to make the Bazaar an unequalled occasion for the purchase of Christmas and New Year's Presents, and all sorts of beautiful and useful things. It now only remains for them to entreat general coöperation—the coöperation of all made aware by the recent teachings of the times, that the cause is their own no less than ours; that it is wisest to look far ahead in moral enterprises, nor spare toil nor treasure at the beginning.

☞We ask for donations of money. It will be spent, as aforetime, by the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, in awakening that high, right-feeling in the hearts of men, which displaces corrupt statesmen, rebukes servile politicians, succours fugitive slaves, upholds the truth, stands by freedom, and defies tyranny, by demanding the immediate abolition of slavery. As our undertaking is *national*, we ask the help and sympathy of persons of every State and city of the nation to free our land from its now ruling curse.

☞We ask (to save expenses) of gentlemen friendly to our object, who are manufacturers and mechanics,

A number of pieces of Lowell Cotton,
Packs of blank Cards,
Reams of Note-Paper,
Envelopes to correspond,
Narrow gilt Picture-Frames;

and, without more specification, of all of such as they have, nothing doubting a great crowd of purchasers.

☞We entreat of friends in the country and city, for the Refreshment-Table, milk, cream, tea, sugar, coffee, eggs, bread, cake, crackers, butter, cheese, hams (thoroughly boiled), all kinds of cold cooked meats, potatoes, apples, and all sorts of preserved fruits.

Donations may be addressed to the Ladies-Managers at 21 Cornhill, Boston, Mass., or to 138 Nassau street, New York, or to either of the undersigned at their respective homes.

Maria Weston Chapman,	Mary May,
Louisa Loring,	Eliza Lee Follen,
Anne Warren Weston,	Ann Greene Phillips,
Sarah Shaw Russell,	Frances Mary Robbins,
Helen E. Garrison,	Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah H. Southwick,	Mary Willey,
Abby Francis,	Ann Shaw Greene,
Eliza H. Apthorp,	Mary Gray Chapman,
Elizabeth Gay,	Henrietta Sargent,
Sarah Russell May,	Caroline Weston,
Susan C. Cabot,	Mary H. Jackson,
Sarah Blake Shaw,	Lydia D. Parker,
Eliza F. Eddy,	Evelina A. S. Smith,
Elizabeth Von Arnim,	Augusta King.

Summary.

The black vocalist, known as the "Black Swan," is about to give a series of concerts in the Northern States and Canada, prior to a second visit to Europe.

SLAVES IN SAVANNAH.—The tax list of Savannah shows that there are in that city 3,295 slaves, who are taxed three dollars each, forming a revenue of $9,885.

The Abbeville *Press* of the 28th ult. says: "At an Administrator's sale in this vicinity, a few days since, of the property of John L. Boyd, deceased, a lot of over sixty negroes was sold at an average of about $716 each. Field hands brought from $1,000 to $1,300.

WOMAN WHIPPING.—The Richmond *Dispatch* of the 11th has the following paragraph:

"A free negress, called Charlotte, from Petersburg, received a flogging yesterday for being here with improper papers and running from the police."

RUNAWAY NEGROES.—Within the last two weeks, says the Louisville *Journal* of the 4th, the running away of negroes seems to have become more frequent than ever. Nearly all the fugitives are the property of Know-Nothings, and they strike invariably for Indiana.

Mr. Buchanan has definitely decided upon the first week in February as the period for his coming to Washington. He will stay at the National, which has already become the headquarters of many of his intimate friends. In olden times he used to stop at Gadsby's.—*Times Correspondence.*

RECALLED.—It is stated that Mr. Wheeler, our Minister at Central America, has been recalled by the President for having recognised the Nicaraguan Government. It is rather hard to be thus punished for following the example of the President himself.

STAMPEDE OF FREE NEGROES.—The free negroes at Murfreesboro took a compulsory stampede from that place last week. Their depredations had become insufferable to the citizens, and their pernicious influence among the slave population made them a serious grievance. Self-preservation compelled the whites to stringent measures to get rid of them, and a general stampede ensued during the week.—*Nashville Patriot, Dec. 2.*

The Richmond *Dispatch* states that eighty negroes, most of them emancipated by the will of the late James Terrill, Albermarle, arrived in Richmond by the Central cars, on the 3d inst., on their way to Liberia. These negroes are under the care of Frank K. Nelson, Esq., and left for Norfolk on board the Curtis Peck. Mr. Terrill made ample provisions to send them to their new home, and to locate them comfortably.

TELEGRAPH TO CUBA.—It is stated that parties have been for some time in correspondence with the Cuban and Spanish authorities for the privilege of laying a telegraph line between Cuba and the United States. It is proposed to lay a cable from the point of Cape Sable, the extreme southern point of Florida, to Havana, the distance being little over 70 miles—about the same stretch as that across the Gulf of St. Lawrence.—*Tribune, Dec. 11.*

JUDGE MCLEAN.—We noticed during the late campaign a paragraph going the rounds of the Democratic press, to the effect that Judge McLean had declared himself favourable to the election of Buchanan. The same declaration is now reproduced in the recent letter of John Van Buren to the Boston Committee of invitation. We are authorized to give this assertion an explicit denial, and to say that the Judge voted an open ticket for Fremont and Dayton.—*Newark Mercury.*

POTATOES DISEASED. — The *Journal of Commerce* learns from a dealer in Washington market that in no previous year has the potato rot been so destructive as during the present season. All varieties of the vegetable are infected, from whatever direction they come. Though they may appear fair and perfect on their arrival, evidence of disease is soon apparent. Even a cargo from Nova Scotia, which arrived a few days ago, bore the same indications.

FAMINE IN LIBERIA.—Rev. F. Burns writes under date of Oct. 5th, 1856: "There is now a strong probability that the ensuing twelve months will be rather a serious time throughout Liberia for breadstuff. This has been a very hard year, and produce of all kinds has been high, when it could be had. The misfortune is that in many places, and for some weeks together, it could not be had at any price; hundreds among the natives even have died of want. There is every reason to fear that the next year will be much worse than this one.

SMUGGLING MILK IN THE "ORIGINAL PACKAGES."—It is said that Mr. Secretary Guthrie, in framing his reciprocity tariff with Canada, made the "duty" on milk so high that the farmers on the royal borders, instead of milking their cows at home and sending the milk in cans into the States, find it more economical to drive their cows over, milk them on the American side, and then drive them back again. They commute for the toll over the bridges for a very moderate consideration.

GOVERNOR REEDER AND THE VERMONT KANSAS APPROPRIATION.—Ex-Governor Reeder has written a letter expressing his gratification at the Legislative appropriation for Kansas which has been made by the State of Vermont, and hoping that the example may be generally followed in other States. He says if Kansas is left to its natural course under the present rule of Missouri, it will certainly become a slave State, and hence it is necessary for the friends of freedom to bestir themselves in despatching men and means to the Territory in order to secure their freedom.

NEW CHURCH FOR MR. TYNG.—Philadelphia, Dec. 9.—The friends of the Rev. Mr. Tyng, late Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, having secured the use of National Hall, opened the building last Sunday for religious services according to the rights and usages of the Episcopal Church. The Hall, which is capable of accommodating several thousand, was densely crowded at both services with a very intelligent and attentive congregation, assembled to listen to this able, faithful and fearless preacher, who has been driven from the pulpit of the Church of the Epiphany by the pro-slavery members of that parish. The large attendance at National Hall is an evidence of the warm sympathy for Mr. Tyng in this community, and the meager congregation at the Church of the Epiphany last Sunday is a proof that the majority of his late parishioners are with the Rector in this struggle for Freedom and Free Speech. More than $20,000 has been subscribed to build a new church for Mr. Tyng, and the Committee who have the matter in charge are confident that the requisite amount will be speedily realized.—*Tribune.*

AN ABOLITIONIST SMOKED OUT.—The people of Madison County, Florida, discovering that they had an Abolitionist among them—George Eaton Colson by name—called a meeting to consider his case. Evidence being produced under oath that he was, by his own confession, an Abolitionist of the Greeley, perhaps even of the Garrison, stamp, the meeting resolved to give him notice to quit. This was done on penalty of 39 lashes in case of his refusal, to be repeated in double dose in case of further refusal. *He left.* His family was assisted by the citizens with means to enable them to follow him.—*Savannah Georgian, Nov. 21st.*

OPERATIONS OF THE REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION OF WASHINGTON.—From the Secretary's Report, it appears that this Association published and circulated during the late canvass about 4,000,000 of documents.

Of Seward's speeches, there were printed about 294,000 copies; of Sumner's, 218,000; of Colfax's, 136,000; of the Kansas Report, 168,000, &c. The Association still maintains its organization, labouring for the efficiency of the Republican party, caring more for measures than men.—*Nat. Era.*

STRIKE FOR HIGHER WAGES — WHITE *vs.* SLAVE-LABOUR.—We learn that our shipping-merchants have been subjected to a great inconvenience for some days past, on account of a "strike" among the labourers on the wharf for higher wages. They have been receiving $1 50 per diem heretofore, and now claim $2 for seven and a half work hours. We are informed that an arrangement has been set on foot by our merchants to dispense altogether with this foreign aid, and employ slave labout in their stead, and that they will be able to carry it into effect in a few days.—*Savannah Rep., Dec. 5.*

"ANOTHER FASHIONABLE ABOMINATION."—Under this title the *Lancet* says that the use of Belladonna is unblushingly advertised to "give brilliancy and the power of fascination to woman's eyes." It is a poison and a powerful alterative. But what of that? So is arsenic. Yet in Austria it is used internally to give ruddiness to woman's cheeks. "Fashion" is quite competent to compel her votaries to diet on Prussic acid, Belladonna, morphine, arsenic—anything. If she prescribed the fangs of rattlesnakes for the production of irresistible sighs, a hunt of these reptiles would ensue throughout North America which would extinguish the species. Belladonna is an article of the toilette. Very well. If we must, we must. Only "draw it mild," ye druggists.—*Albany Evening Journal.*

GRACELESS IMPATIENCE.—A little girl, not three years of age, while her father was engaged in family prayer, becoming no doubt weary at the length of the exercise, and happily recollecting how it always terminated, suddenly shouted out "Amen." After waiting a moment or two and observing that this proved ineffectual, she repeated with more emphasis, "*Amen!*" By this time a smile was creeping over her father's countenance, and, noticing that he hesitated a little and betrayed a manifest effort to proceed with his devotion, she pleasantly added, "Pa, can't you say it?" It is needless to say that the length of the prayer was much shortened.—*Newark Advertiser.*

COLONEL BENTON IN THE SENATE AGAIN.—The news from Missouri is that a coalition is formed between the Bentonian and Know-Nothing members of the Legislature, by which Colonel Benton and Luther M. Kennett will be elected United Senators from that State, there being two Senators to elect. This will be a crusher on the ultra border ruffian faction. There can be no question, says the Cincinnati *Commercial*, but that Mr. Buchanan's influence is used in Missouri to have Benton returned to the Senate. The Administration papers of the State, whose support to a great extent depends upon official patronage, long so bitter on Benton, are now silent. It is extremely probable—it is almost inevitable—that the Senator for six lustrums will be sent back to his old seat.

EMIGRATION—TEXAS AND KANSAS.—The emigration to these two young and enterprising States from the older slave States is said to have been remarkably large during the Fall season just passed, and seems constantly on the increase. A recent number of the Memphis *Bulletin* says: We have never before observed so large a number of emigrants going westward as are crossing the river to this point daily, the two ferry-boats (sometimes three) going crowded from early morn until the boats cease making their trips at night. It is no uncommon sight to see from twenty to forty wagons encamped on the bluff for the night, notwithstanding there has been a steady stream going across the river all day, and yet the cry is still they come. The emigration is from the older States mostly, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and this State, all going to settle in Kansas and Texas. Judging from these indications, the influx of population into these States will be larger this season than ever before and of good substantial citizens.

LARGE SALE OF NEGROES IN VIRGINIA.—The editor of the Petersburg *Intelligencer*, writing from Weldon, N. C., 2d inst., says: To-day was the appointed time for the sale, at Halifax town, of the largest number of negroes that perhaps were ever offered at one time, to wit, three hundred. They are the property of Thomas Devereux, Esq., the principal legatee of the famous Pollock estate. The amount of Mr. Devereux's negro property may be judged from the fact that after these three hundred are sold, he will still be in the possession of more than three hundred. I doubt if the sale takes place to-day (although a good many persons from all parts of the Southern country are said to have congregated at Halifax), as the weather is too bad for out-door bidding, and the crowd will probably be too great for the sale to take place in any room in Halifax. The court-house possibly may be used.

We had one of the best jokes of the season in the House to-day. Etheridge, of Tennessee, was speaking of the attachment of the slaves to their masters, and of their happy exemption from the cares and anxieties which perplex their masters. By way of illustration, the gentleman said, "Now, my slaves would follow me to Boston, and no one could seduce or entice them from me; and when I am lying awake nights to devise ways and means to pay the

Miscellaneous Department.

From The National Era.

THE CONQUEST OF FINLAND.*

Across the frozen marshes
The winds of Autumn blow,
And the fen-lands of the Wetter
Are white with early snow.

But where the low, gray headlands
Look o'er the Baltic brine,
A bark is sailing in the track
Of England's battle-line.

No wares hath she to barter
For Bothnia's fish and grain;
She saileth not for pleasure,
She saileth not for gain.

But, still by isle or mainland,
She drops her anchor down,
Where'er the British cannon
Rained fire on tower and town.

Outspake the ancient Amptman,
At the gate of Helsingfors:
"Why comes this ship a-spying
In the track of England's wars?"

"God bless her," said the coast-guard,
"God bless the ship, I say;
The holy angels trim the sails
That speed her on her way!

"Where'er she drops her anchor,
The peasant's heart is glad;
Where'er she spreads her parting sail,
The peasant's heart is sad.

"Each wasted town and hamlet
She visits to restore;
To roof the shattered cabin,
And feed the starving poor.

"The sunken boats of fishers,
The foraged beeves and grain,
The spoil of flake and storehouse,
The good ship brings again.

"And so to Finland's sorrow
The sweet amend is made,
As if the healing hand of Christ
Upon her wounds were laid!"

Then said the gray old Amptman,
"The will of God be done!
The battle lost by England's hate,
By England's love is won!

"We braved the iron tempest
That thundered on our shore;
But when did kindness fail to find
The key to Finland's door?

"No more from Aland's ramparts
Shall warning signal come,
Nor startled Sweaborg hear again
The roll of midnight drum.

"Beside her fierce Black Eagle
The Dove of Peace shall rest;
And in the mouths of cannon
The sea-bird make her nest.

"For Finland, looking seaward,
No coming foe shall scan;
And the holy bells of Abo
Shall ring, 'Good-will to man!'

"Then row thy boat, oh, fisher!
In peace on lake and bay;
And thou, young maiden, dance again
Around the poles of May!

"Sit down, old men, together;
Old wives, in quiet spin;
Henceforth the Anglo-Saxon
Is the brother of the Finn!"

J. G. W.

* A late letter from England, in the *Friends' Review*, says: "Joseph Sturge, with Thomas Harris, has been visiting the shores of Finland, to ascertain the amount of mischief and loss to poor and peaceable sufferers, occasioned by the gun boats of the Allied squadrons in the late war, with a view to obtaining relief for them."

MURDER AND THE MICROSCOPE.

From Chambers's Edinburgh Journal.

Amongst the immense number of alterations and improvements which have of late years taken place in the mode of administering the criminal justice of the country, perhaps none are more remarkable than those which have reference to the examination of scientific witnesses, when called upon to substantiate the guilt or innocence of an accused person. A few years ago, it was the common opinion that the testimony of such witness ought to be regarded with a great deal of caution, if not of absolute distrust. We have ourselves heard people, who should have known better, say "that circumstantial evidence was bad enough, but scientific evidence worse; and that, if upon a jury, they would certainly throw overboard the testimony of scientific witnesses as to the guilt or innocence of the prisoner." Towards the formation of these opinions, scientific men themselves unintentionally contributed; a man of science, in the witness-box, being in times past very different from the same person in everyday life. If a witness for the prosecution, every tittle of evidence, valueless to the common-sense bystander, and every petty act of the prisoner, was in some way made a fresh link in the chain which drew the miserable wretch to the gallows; while, on the contrary, if it were upon the prisoner's behalf he gave his testimony, the most outrageous proofs of guilt were explained as being perfectly consistent with, and indeed confirmatory of, the prisoner's innocence. Of course, in such evidence there was an immense deal of hair-splitting, and a considerable number of technical terms and learned phrases used, wholly unintelligible to the unprofessional man: the consequence of which eventually was, that the unprofessional man treated the evidence as he treated most other things he did not understand—that is to say, he looked upon it with contempt, and pronounced it nothing worth.

All this is very much altered in the present day. It is true that evidence is now and then given by unscrupulous men for certain purposes, so entirely opposed to our common sense as to bring some amount of odium on science generally; but such cases are not of very frequent occurrence. The cause of this great change is owing to the dissemination, amongst all classes, of a knowledge of many of the data upon which scientific witnesses found their opinions. Questions as to the *opinion* of such witnesses were formerly the only ones put; whereas, such questions are now always accompanied by others as to the reasons for forming such an opinion. If, in years gone by, a counsel had ventured to ask a medical man, while in the witness-box, upon what authority he formed his conclusions, the witness would immediately have backed himself by an appeal to the doctrines propounded by Hippocrates, Galen, and a dozen other of his illustrious predecessors—the older the better. At the present day, such authorities have, to a great extent, been supplanted by others of quite a different description, most of whom have arisen during the last few years, and have in their revelations taught us important truths hitherto undreamed of. One of the most invaluable of these authorities is the Microscope.

Of course, the evidence which this instrument affords in all those cases where it is appealed to is entirely circumstantial; but it is circumstantial evidence of the most important description. It may tell us that certain brown rust upon a knife or razor is blood—and more, that it is human blood; it may acquaint us with the nature of a piece of poisonous matter wholly invisible to the naked eye, and which would therefore, without its assistance, have entirely escaped detection; and so in numberless ways may the instrument fill up a hiatus in the evidence, which would otherwise have been wholly insufficient to convict or to exculpate a prisoner.

We will take, as our first illustration, the case of a man named Munroe, tried at the Cumberland Spring Assizes in 1855, for wilful murder. The fact of the murder having been committed by some one, and the manner in which it was accomplished, were both perfectly clear. The murdered man had been waylaid in a lonely spot; his throat had been divided from ear to ear, and his body thrown under a hedge. The murderer, whoever he was, had doubtless committed the horrible act for the sake of about thirty shillings, which the deceased, the paymaster of a colliery, had in his pocket at the time.

Circumstantial evidence of the most intricate character was produced against the prisoner. He had been seen in a field near the spot; he had changed a half-sovereign shortly afterwards, and had attempted to disguise himself—so it was suggested—by getting a blacksmith to cut off the whole of his whiskers. These and many other facts were deposed to, and occupied nearly two days in the recital; still, in them, taken individually and collectively, there was nothing to warrant a conviction. But now came the evidence of the microscope. A learned microscopist was called, to whom there had been previously submitted a pair of corduroy trowsers and a razor, both known to have been in the possession of the prisoner at the time the murder, by whose hand soever committed, took place. On these trowsers, after a most careful examination, the witness said he had discovered several small spots, the largest being not so large as a swan-shot; the microscope revealed to him that these spots were human blood; and from the peculiar shape and appearance, he stated confidently that they were formed by small streams of blood spirting upward from the divided artery of a living body. On examining around each of these spots, he discovered traces of soap and evident signs of the spots having been attempted to be washed out, while over one or two of them *ink* had been carefully spread. On the blade of the razor there was some rust; on the ivory handle, a smear of blood, which also turned out to be human. Of course, a vast number of questions were asked in cross-examination, in order to test the credibility due to the assertion that these spots and stains were *human* blood; that assertion being grounded on the delicate measurement of those minute bodies called corpuscles or globules, which constitute the colouring matter of blood. As to this, however, the evidence of the witness was altogether unshaken—the corpuscles found in human blood are each of them about the 1-3200 of an inch in diameter, and differ more or less in size from those of any known quadruped—those of the sheep being but 1-7000 of an inch; of the dog, 1-3542; &c.

What could be said against such evidence as this? Here was a razor rusted with blood—blood, too, being on the handle; trowsers, with spots of human blood upon them, which it had been attempted to eradicate by washing and covering with ink. Coupled with the other evidence in the case, it was irresistible; a verdict of guilty was found, and the man was executed.

In the next case we will mention, the value of the microscope as an agent in the detection of crime was still more strikingly shown, although, from certain causes, the prisoner escaped the punishment which no reasonable person could doubt he justly merited.

At the Chelmsford Spring Assizes, 1852, C—— H—— was put upon his trial for wilful murder. The circumstantial evidence, by which it was attempted to bring the guilt to the prisoner's door, was even more complicated than in the last case; but although, without the scientific evidence, it was sufficient to raise against him a grave suspicion, it would have been wholly ineffectual to convict him of so heinous a charge as murder. The victim in this case was an old woman, living alone, with a considerable amount of money in her bed-chamber. A neighbour called upon her one morning at eleven o'clock, found the house shut up, and no appearance of anybody about. Being alarmed, she got through a window into the dwelling, and, ascending into the sleeping-room, found the poor creature in her bed, quite dead, the back of her head having been beaten in no doubt by means of a large hammer lying close by—and her head nearly severed from her body. An alarm was immediately given; an inquest was held, and the police were soon in active pursuit after the murderer.

It was not very long before suspicion fell upon H——. Footsteps had been noticed round the house, which coincided with the impress of the boots he wore; the hammer found near the murdered woman's bed was declared by a neighbour to have been seen in his possession; a little girl had observed him come from near the house on the morning in question; but more than all, in a brook about a mile from the dwelling where the murder was committed, was found a cotton handkerchief, and tightly rolled up in it a razor, covered with blood, which was identified as belonging to the prisoner.

This razor, together with the handkerchief, was conveyed immediately to a clever microscopist in London, who, after examination, returned them both with the intelligence that the blood upon them was certainly human. The case then seemed complete against the prisoner, and at the next assizes he was placed upon his trial. One question, however, had yet to be disposed of. Assuming that the razor and handkerchief belonged to the prisoner, and that the blood upon them was human, how was it to be shown that they were connected with *this* murder, they having been found more than a mile from the house in which it was committed? The microscope at once gave a conclusive answer to this difficulty. Upon the blade of the razor, when carefully examined with a high power, there was found beside the blood a few fibres, which were distinctly sworn to as being a mixture of flax and cotton, the fibres of these two products being perfectly distinguishable the one from the other by means of the microscope—a fact well known to all who take any interest in the purity of *lint*. On examining the murdered body, it was discovered that the instrument with which the wound was made had partially severed one of the strings of the poor woman's nightcap, and that the material forming that string was composed of a mixture of cotton and flax! A more convincing proof of the prisoner's guilt could scarcely have been desired. There was, however, one remaining link—the identity of the handkerchief and razor. Only two people could supply this—the father and the sister of the prisoner. Before the magistrates, the old man had reluctantly admitted that both were his son's; but when he saw his son before him in the dock, looking upon him with entreating eyes, as the arbiter of life or death, the old man's courage gave way, and he declared that he could identify neither the one nor the other; so also said the sister; and thus, after all, the jury were reluctantly obliged to acquit the prisoner. To him, however, I may incidentally mention, this was of little avail. Scouted from village to village, H—— vainly solicited either employment or charity; and two months after his acquittal he was found lying dead under a hedge, from—as a coroner's jury subsequently declared—"starvation."

In both these cases, then, the microscope gave the most important help towards establishing the guilt of the prisoners; and it is worthy of remark, that the peculiar value of the assistance afforded by the instrument lay not so much in the discovery of blood in the one case, and of blood and certain fibres in the other, as in showing conclusively the particular kind of blood and description of fibre. If, on the knife of Munroe, the microscope had said only that there was blood, the tale would have been worth but little, living, as the prisoner did, in a country village, where twenty different operations might have brought that fluid upon his knife and clothes; but when the fact was revealed that that blood was *human*, it, of course, afforded a very strong proof of the guilt of the accused. So with the vegetable fibres on the razor; as fibres simply they might have come even from off the handkerchief in which the razor was wrapped; but being partly cotton and partly flax, the case assumed a very different aspect.

The value of this peculiar *discriminating* power of the microscope was remarkably illustrated in a very curious case tried a few years ago at Norwich. A female child about nine years old was found one morning lying upon the ground, in a small plantation, quite dead; the cause of death being at once denoted by a large and deep gash in the throat, severing both of the carotid arteries, the trachea and the œsophagus. Suspicion immediately fell upon the mother of the murdered girl, who had been seen by more than one person leading her daughter towards the plantation on the morning of the day upon which the crime was presumed to have been committed.

Upon being taken into custody, the woman behaved with the utmost coolness—at once admitted having taken her child to the plantation where the body was found; but averred that, having arrived there, the girl ran about gathering wild flowers; that she subsequently lost sight of her, and, after a long search, returned home without her. Upon being searched, there was found in the woman's possession a large and sharp knife, which was at once subjected to a minute and careful examination. Nothing, however, was found upon it, with the exception of a few pieces of hair adhering to the handle, so exceedingly small as scarcely to be visible. The examination being conducted in the presence of the prisoner, and the officer remarking, "Here is a bit of fur or hair on the handle of your knife," the woman immediately replied: "Yes; I dare say there is, and very likely some stains of blood, for, as I came home, I found a rabbit caught in a snare, and cut its throat with the knife." The knife was sent to London, and, with the particles of hair, subjected to a microscopic examination. No traces of blood could at first be detected upon the weapon, which appeared to have been washed; but upon separating the born handle from its iron lining, it was found that between the two a fluid had penetrated, which turned out to be blood, *certainly* not the blood of a rabbit, but bearing every resemblance to that of the human body. Then came the examination of the hair, which added powerfully to the presumption of the prisoner's guilt. Without knowing anything of the facts of the case, the microscopist immediately declared the hair to be that of *a squirrel*—in this he could not be mistaken, for the fur of one animal differs so entirely from that of another, not only in its size, colour, &c., but in its actual construction, that it is altogether impossible to mistake it when under the microscope. Now, round the neck of the child, at the time of the murder, there was a tippet or "victorine," over which the knife, by whomever held, must have glided; and this victorine was made of *squirrel's fur!*

The strong circumstantial evidence of the guilt of the prisoner was deemed by the jury sufficient for a conviction, and, while awaiting execution, the wretched woman fully confessed her crime.

After such proofs as these, which are but a sample of a hundred others that might, if necessary, be adduced of the value of scientific evidence in judicial investigation, we can hardly imagine any one to be bold enough to deny the utility or importance of such evidence; yet we are aware that the question must continually occur to many—"How did our forefathers manage to bring offenders to justice without the use of the microscope, chemical analysis, or anything of the kind?" Why, the fact is, that crimes, in the times of our forefathers, were mostly committed in a very bungling manner, and very slight proofs of guilt were held to be sufficient to secure a conviction. Before the recent improvements in microscopic science, there was, for instance, no direct means of ascertaining whether a stain was caused by blood or by any other fluid. Chemistry, indeed, within the last twenty years, afforded a somewhat delicate and circuitous means of detection, but, after all, a very unsatisfactory one—simply detecting the presence of a peculiar body called hematosine, the colouring matter of the blood, without the slightest intimation as to whether it was the blood of man or of any inferior animal.

Then came the revelations of the microscope, continually more and more delicate. First it was shown, as we have before said, that the blood of every description of animal is composed of a countless number of minute globules, mostly of a red colour, floating in a colourless fluid. Subsequently it was discovered that these globules, in the class mammalia, are uniformly of a circular form, not spherical, but disks, the thickness of which equalled about one-fourth of the diameter; while in birds, fishes, and reptiles, they are of an *oval* form; and last of all, the remarkable discovery was made that every kind of animal has in its blood globules differing in size from those of any other kind.

Nothing, indeed, was so much wanted in medical jurisprudence as a safe and certain detection of blood-stains; for several other substances so exactly simulated them as to be mistaken even by eminent professional men. Orange or lemon juice left upon a knife, or other piece of iron, will in a few days produce a stain so nearly resembling that caused by blood as to deceive the most careful observer; and not many years ago, in Paris, a man was very nearly convicted of murder, owing to a knife being found in his possession, stained with what was pronounced by several witnesses to be blood, but afterwards discovered to be simply *lime-juice*.

So, again, with the stains of paint formed from the red oxide of iron. About fifteen years ago, a person was found murdered in Islington. Suspicion falling upon a particular individual, he was arrested, and in his possession was found a sack having upon it many stains declared to be dried coagulated blood. These stains were carefully and chemically examined by Professor Graham, who proved them to be red paint containing "peroxide of iron": and the sack was ultimately found to have been worn as an apron by a young man apprenticed to a paper-stainer. The accused was immediately discharged.

Now, in both these cases, the microscope would instantly have declared the stains not to be due to the presence of blood. But our ancestors, without the aid of chemical or microscopical investigation, would most certainly have considered them to be strong and incontrovertible evidences of the guilt of the accused; and who shall say how many have unjustly suffered at a time when ill-grounded suspicion and assertion could not be negatived by an appeal to the evidence which the various improvements in science will not permit us to invoke.

It ought, however, to be borne in mind that the microscope, and similar scientific instruments, do not in any way enable us to dispense with the testimony of learned men in criminal cases, but rather serve to render such service more valuable; for although it is very true that the revelations made by so simple an instrument as a piece of tube some nine or ten inches long, with a few glasses at either end, are sufficient in many cases to send a man to the gallows, yet the tale such an instrument tells can be understood only by those who, by long observation and experience, have learned the "language" in which it is told.

Honour, then, be ascribed to the men whose skill and patience have placed such an instrument at our disposal; greater honour to those who, by long years of laborious investigation, are able to understand the revelations daily brought before them; but the greatest honour of all to those—happily for us, there are many such in the present generation—who, abandoning the, to many people, unintelligible jargon of technical words and learned phrases, in which everything relating to science was formerly clothed, are content to interpret, in plain and unmistakeable language, the as plain and unmistakable tale which the microscope and other means of scientific investigation enable them to disclose.

NEGRO LITERATURE.

From Eliza Cook's Journal.

The empire of literature is gradually extending. The printing press, like civilization, is making the tour of the world; and even in imperial Hayti, among a population of negroes, literature is becoming a power for good, if not also for evil.

At the time when the negroes of Hayti revolted against France, elementary instruction in the French language had made some progress in the island. Schools and churches had been founded; the negroes spoke in broken French, many of them could read, and they mostly worshipped in Catholic churches. Still, the literary classes were greatly in the minority, for the bulk of the population were illiterate slaves when the rebellion broke out which finally severed their connection with France.

During the height and fever of the rebellion, everything French was hated and denounced—French books, French churches, French monuments, and French men. Such of the latter as were not killed were banished the island, after which the blacks governed themselves—first under a black president, as now, under a black emperor. On the massacre of the last French colonists, Dessalines, the future emperor, was asked, "What was to be done with the French libraries?" "We have no need of them," was his reply, "except for gun-wadding." And by his orders, the company of grenadiers, who went from house to house in Port-au-Prince, tore to prieces and threw into the street all the books they could discover.

Not content with suppressing the "paper speech," as he called it, Dessalines resolved also to put down the schools, in which he had succeeded to some extent before his sudden and violent death. Nevertheless, the germs of literature, however imperfectly, had been planted in Hayti, and when the population had time to settle down to peaceful pursuits, and their hatred of the French became assuaged, they turned to literature as a necessity. The president, Petion, encouraged letters, and restored some of the schools; but the ban being still upon the French colonists, no professors could be obtained to fill the seats in the university, and the progress of learning was therefore very slow. The more intelligent of the former free blacks and mulattoes of the island having gradually betaken themselves to the towns, there to engage in commercial pursuits, found themselves gradually drawn together; and many of them united in clubs, especially in masonic lodges, which latter reünions soon became the nuclei of the literature and learning of Hayti. These lodges were schools of mutual help, as well as social gatherings, at which each member endeavoured to contribute his quota of entertainment in the form of dissertations, toasts, fables, dramatic essays, songs, and funeral orations. Petion also patronized the public journals, assisting the proprietors with presses and paper; and these, together with the establishment of theatres, the throwing open of the senate houses, the public right of petition, triennial electoral meetings, and, above all, civic festivities, which were and still are the occassion of numerous speechifyings, presented additional opportunities for the growth of the infant literature of Hayti.

At an early period in Haytian literary history the need of a grammar was felt, and the then director of the national printing-office, Chanlatte, undertook the task. The French grammars had all been torn to pieces, but he compiled one, not without many faults, from memory. This answered its purpose very well, until the reëstablishment of pacific and commercial relations with France, in 1823, reintroduced French books, and gave a new impulse to education in the island.

The present native literature is not extensive, but it is growing. Truth to say, it is chiefly of a very light description, fitted rather for amusement than for high culture. The negro is a pleasure-loving being, and the mulatto is his brother, differing from him mainly in a lighter-coloured skin, for French blood runs in the veins of the mulattoes of Hayti. And the French-Haytian mulatto, sprung from two volatile sources, is an embodiment of volatility, the like of which, perhaps, few countries can exhibit. Hence the gay literature of Hayti, which is but a reflex of its people.

First and foremost come drama and comedy. The theatre is the leading amusement of the Haytians, and many of the negroes have a strong love of acting, as well as an extraordinary talent for it, the negro being essentially imitative. Even in the time of Dessalines, the boys at Port-au-Prince used to compose and play little melo-dramas, which had for their subject the principal episodes in the expedition of the French general, Leclerc. All that we know of these essays now is, that they were furiously applauded. One little circumstance is still remembered—that the head of the French colonel, Frere, a character in one of the dramas, was decorated with an enormous hair cap, on which might be read, in large red letters, "Hayti, the grave of Frenchmen."

Since then, a really great actor has appeared in Hayti—Dupre—and he has also exhibited eminent qualities as a poet and a dramatic writer. He wrote some light dramas, which were played, himself being the principal actor, with immense success; but having been killed in a duel, and the manuscripts being in the possession of his widow, she refuses to give them up for publication, through superstitious caprice of conjugal piety. These plays of Dupre were thoroughly Haytian, and strikingly illustrative of the manners, opinions, habits and character of his countrymen. They were chiefly illustrative of the slavery period of the island, before the advent of "liberty." Dupre has been called the Haytian Moliere, and the effects produced by the acting of his plays are said to have justified the simile. Many of Dupre's satires, songs, and poems, in French, are still preserved, and they possess extraordinary pith and vigour.

Dupre flourished under Petion's Presidency—when Christophe reigned in the eastern and Petion in the western part of the island. Under the Presidency of Boyer, who succeeded Petion, some eleven native dramatists made their appearance, and some of their specimens are to be found in the *Haytian Bee (l'Abeille Haitienne)*, a Port-au-Prince paper. The treatment of subjects is clever, though the morality would not be considered very pure in Europe; for, in Hayti, brothers do not hesitate to marry sisters by the connivance of "the church," and many of the most favourite Haytian dramas have for their themes love-passages of this sort. M. Milscent, a man of colour, educated in France, is the author of several pieces of this description.

But not only have the Haytians theatres and theatrical entertainments; they also established an *opera* and a *royal* academy of music. What, do you think, was the original strength of the orchestra of the Royal Academy? Two violins, two clarionets, two flutes, two horns, and a bassoon. This formed the royal court band of Christophe. He also possessed a composer of music, M. Cassian, a Haytian, who produced some comic operas, which were played before their "majesties." Christophe had also a considerable staff of amateur theatrical performers about the court; they consisted of thirty amateurs and twenty *amatrices* (as the royal Almanac of Hayti duly announced) and also seven ladies of the ballet—all black. But Christophe having committed suicide in 1820, the royal opera for some time languished, though we have heard that the present emperor has revived it in full force. At the present time, Port-au-Prince supports three theatres, the *Haytian* theatre, the *Theatre des Varietes* and the *Ambigu*. In one of these, the orchestra consists chiefly of *drums*, and the musical accompaniment to the songs may therefore be imagined better than described. The audiences also take a considerable part in the performances, and are constantly ejaculating with loud voices in the course of the play; so that the Haytian drama, though remarkably amusing, would probably not command the respect of a *recherche* audience on this side the Atlantic. But it amuses the Haytians, and thus serves its purpose.

The newspapers of Hayti exhibit more satisfactory progress. At their commencement, they were very bombastic, lauding their black emperor as if he had been a very god; rivalling in this respect the most toadying court newspapers of old Europe. There was the greater excuse for this on the part of the Haytian gentlemen of the press, as, but for the support and patronage of the Haytian monarch, they could not have survived the early stages of their being. But within the last twenty years, the Haytian newspapers have exhibited a steady and rapid improvement; they are much more independent in their tone of opinion, and they contain many articles and critiques, with sketches of local manners and character, which enable them to stand a comparison with the journals of many of the more civilized of European countries. Two of the longest established journals of Port-au-Prince, the *Republican* and the *Union*, have published sketches of local manners and tales of Haytian life which would even bear reprinting in our Parlour and Railway Libraries Ignoce Nau is one of the cleverest of the negro novelists, and his tales of negro sorcery (in which negroes are generally profound believers—at least those of Hayti) possess great originality and power. Besides the journals above mentioned, there are three others published at Port-au-Prince, the *Revue des Tribunaux*, the *Moniteur*, and the *Commercial Journal*. The *Moniteur* is the organ of the government, and some of the others are opposition papers. Indeed, several of the editors have suffered, like their white brethren in Paris, because of their occasional severely satiric criticisms of the government measures. These papers, like our own, are often full of long reports of speeches delivered by Haytian orators, not less turgid than the speeches of our own Chowlers. About the time of the civic festivals, there is a grievious flux of negro rhetoric, just as there is here at the time of our elections.

The advocate, Mullery, who is the editor of the *Revue des Tribunaux*, has proved a serious thorn in the side of the ruling powers, by the vein of satire in which he treats of their doings. Among other things, he deplores the want of dignity in the proceedings of the Haytian law courts, and tries to shame the judges and people out of their coarse and clumsy modes of procedure by satiric descriptions and comic dialogues. Here, for example, is a sketch of the High Court of Hayti, at the decisive moment, in a trial for conspiracy:

"Here the judges sit sleeping on the bench, there the defendants sleep at the bar; on one side the accused sleep on their form, on the other side the registrars of the court snore at their desks: all round, the sentinels are asleep, with arms in their hands; but the president of the court exhibits an extraordinary force of character; he alone, always on the fidgets, is enabled to subdue sleep; for he is allowed so much extra because of the additional work which he performs in rousing up the sleeping judges. The vice-presidents and the military accuser of the prisoners at the bar yield themselves only occasionally to a pleasant nap; the military officers on duty walk round the court from time to time, startling and wakening up the sleeping sentinels with strokes given with the flat of their sabres.

"In the midst of all this sleep the sound of a tambourine is heard outside, accompanying a number of singers passing along the street. Immediately the audience is thoroughly wakened up; the president of the jury bolts into the street to see the fun, and the heads of the Supreme Court are precipitately drawn out of the windows!"

Such is the journalist's description of a Haytian court.

We might proceed to give specimens of Haytian poetry, which is by no means to be despised, though it often sounds very like the echoes of Lamartine or Victor Hugo. Hayti has already produced several historians, the most illustrious of whom is Madiou; his three large volumes of the *History of Hayti*, published at Port-au-Prince, form at least an excellent collection of materials, though the book is wanting in balance and proportion. Linstant has also furnished some admirable contributions towards the history of the island; and he has proved his literary merit by having carried off the prize awarded by the French Society for his essay on the Abolition of Slavery.

Such is the brief history of the literary state and progress of the negro or mulatto empire of Hayti. The result is certainly cheering, and proves that notwithstanding the enormous disadvantages which the blacks of that island have laboured under, springing suddenly, as they have done, from slavery into full freedom, they have, during the last fifty years, made decided and even rapid progress in intellectual culture.

DEACONS OF THE OLDEN TIME.

Deacon John Benedict was a worthy old man, and enjoyed many claims to respect. He was not only a deacon, but a justice of the peace; moreover, he was the father of Aunt Delight—of whom I desire ever to speak with reverence. She, not being a beauty, was never married, and hence, having no children of her own, she combed and crammed the heads of other people's children. In this way she was eminently useful in her day and generation. The Deacon respected the law, especially as it was administered in his own person. He was severe upon those who violated the statutes of the State, but one who violated the statutes of Deacon John Benedict committed the unpardonable sin. He was the entire police of the meeting-house on Sunday, and not a boy or girl, or even a bumblebee, could offend, without condign punishment.

Nevertheless, the Deacon is said in one case—rather before my time—to have met his match. There was in the village a small, smart, nervous woman, with a vigorous clack, which, once set going, was hard to stop. One day she was at church, and having carried her dinner of mince-pie in a little cross-handled basket, she set it down under the seat. In the midst of sermon-time, a small dog came into the pew, and, getting behind her petticoats, began to devour the pie. She heard what was going on, and gave him a lick. Upon this the dog barked out with a yelp, but bringing the dinner basket, hung across his neck, with him. Back, back he went, tail first, across the pew into the broad aisle.

"Oh, dear!" said the woman, in a shrill voice—"the dog's got my dinner! There! I've spoken loud in meeting-time! What will Deacon Benedict say? Why! I'm talking all the time. There it goes again. What shall I du?"

"Hold your tongue!" said the Deacon, who was in his official seat, fronting the explosion. These words operated like a charm, and the nervous lady was silent. The next day Deacon John appeared at the house of the offender, carrying a calf-bound volume in his hand. The woman gave one glance at the book, and one at the Deacon. That was enough: it spoke volumes, and the man of the law returned home and never mentioned the subject afterward. This is the whole of this story as it was reported to me in my youth.

Deacon Hawley was very unlike either of his two associates whom I have described. He was younger, and of a peculiarly mild and amiable temper. His countenance wore a tranquil and smooth expression. His hair was fine and silky, and lay, as if oiled, close to his head. He had a voice and an ear for music. He was a cabinet-maker by trade, a chorister by choice, a deacon by the vote of the church, a Christian by the grace of God. In each of these things he found his place, as if designed for it by nature and Providence.

How easily did life flow on for him! How different was its peaceful current from the battle waged by Granther Baldwin—whom I shall soon describe—from the beginning, and ceasing only when death put his cold finger on the heart and silenced it forever. Oh, nature! thou art a powerful divinity, sometimes moulding the heart in love and charity, and sometimes as if in bitterness and spite. Let those who become the judges of man here below make due allowance for these things, as no doubt the Judge hereafter will consider them in adjusting each man's account.

In worldly affairs as well as spiritual, Deacon Hawley's path was straight and even; he was successful in business, beloved in society, honoured in the church. Exceedingly frugal by habit and disposition, he still loved to give in charity, though he told not the world of it. When he was old, his family being well-provided for, he spent much of his time in casting about to find opportunities of doing good. Once he learned that a widow, who had been in good circumstances, was struggling with poverty. He was afraid to offer money as charity, for fear of wounding her pride—the more sensitive, perhaps, because of her change of condition. He therefore intimated that he owed a debt of fifty dollars to her late husband, and wished to pay it to her.

"And how was that?" said the lady, somewhat startled.

"I will tell you," said the Deacon. "About five-and-twenty years ago, soon after you were married, I made some furniture for your husband—to the amount of two hundred dollars. I have been looking over the account, find that I rather over-charged him, in the price of some chairs; that is, I could have afforded them at somewhat less. I have added up the interest, and here, madam, is the money.

The widow listened, and, as she suspected the truth, the tears came to her eyes. The Deacon comprehended all in an instant; he did not pause to reply, but laid the money on the table and departed.

Another trait of this good man was his patriotism. The prosperity of the country seemed always to be in his heart—a source of gratification to himself and a cause of thanksgiving to God. His conversation, his prayers, were full of these sentiments. Though of moderate intellectual gifts, his temper was so even, his desires so just, that his judgment was almost infallible; and hence he exercised a large, though quiet and unseen influence upon other men. It is strange in this world to see a man who always and under all circumstances seems to have as his master motive—the wish to do just right. Yet such a man was Deacon Hawley.

I know not how it is, but the term *deacon* is associated in many minds with a certain littleness, and especially a sort of affectation, a cant in conversation, an I-am-holier-than-thou air and manner. I remember Deacon C . . . . of H . . . ., who deemed it proper to become scriptural, and talk as much as possible like Isaiah. He was in partnership with his son Laertes, and they sold crockery and furniture. One day a female customer came, and the old gentleman being engaged, went to call his son who was in the loft above. Placing himself at the foot of the stairs, he said, attuning his voice to the occasion, "La-ar-tes, descend—a lady waits!" Deacon C . . . . sought to signalize himself by a special respect to the ways of Providence: so he refused to get insurance against fire, declaring that if the Lord wished to burn down his house or his barn, he should submit without a murmur. He pretended to consider thunder and lightning and conflagrations as special acts of the Almighty, and it was distrusting Providence to attempt to avert their effects. Deacon Hawley had none of these follies and frailties. Though a deacon, he was still a man; though aspiring to heaven, he lived cheerily on earth; though a Christian, he was a father, a neighbour, and, according to his rank in life, a gentleman, having in all things the feeling and manners appropriate to each of these relations.—*Peter Parley's Recollections.*

LIFE AND THE BIRD.

(See Bede's Ecclesiastical History.)

Edwin, the Saxon King Northumbrian,
Sitting one day and musing in his hall—
Musing upon the marvellous soul of man—

Said to a priest, "Behold! I am the thrall
Of my own ignorance. What is Life?" The priest
Looked up, as one who bears a sudden call

Over dim fields at twilight, when the East
Deadens, "O, King! the more we ask and search,
Ever the more the wonder is increased.

The truth thereof neither in school nor church
Have I discovered. That celestial light
Is darken'd by our earthly smoke and smirch.

Sometimes, O King, when here you sit at night,
Feasting, and laughing in the merry shine
Of the red fire, and of the torches bright,

That quiver in the purple of your wine,
A little bird out of the windy cold,
Out of the darkness, awful and divine,

Comes fluttering through the door, and, waxing bold,
Flies round the walls, and on the loop'd-up shields
Flings his quaint shadow, rapid and manifold.

Whence he has come—except from lovely fields,
And empty night, and sighing wind—none knows:
But he is here, and summer radiance yields

A brief delight, from which he quickly goes,
As Life departs from us. A little stay
He makes, and dances for great joy, and grows

Enamour'd of his home, and does embay
Himself in odorous heat, and claps his wings,
Joying to hear the eloquent minstrels play

Their hymns to Love and everlasting things—
Without, the night is dark, the night is wide,
The night is cold and loud with tempestings—

A vast black hollowness, where, undescried,
The shapes of earth lie buried, a huge Naught,
As it seems, but falsely, since forever abide

Strong facts which by the morning will be brought
Up from their graves beneath the oblivious dusk,
As they first issued from their Maker's thought.

This stranger from afar, this bird, this spark
Leaping from gloom, and shortly seen no more,
Makes here brief dwelling, as in grove or park,

Then passes forth out at the farther door—
Out whence he came, out in the fathomless night,
Out in the long wind, moaning to the shore.

And we shall never know whereto his flight
Conducts him; only that he once was here,
Almost as briefly as those blooms of light

That bud within the Western hemisphere,
The crimson gardens of the downward sun,
Whose Autumn in a moment breathes them sere.

So with our life. It comes (sent forth by One),
A white and winged bird, from sacred gloom
Of ante-natal mysteries, close and dun,

And issues through the gateway of the womb,
And flutters, restless, round the sweet, warm earth;
Then, through that other gate, which is the tomb,

Wanes in dusk regions, seeking for new birth;
But whence it came, or where it goes, no eye
Has noted; and our knowledge starves with death.

Only we feel it goes not forth to die.
From dark to dark, from haunted dream to dream,
From world to world, this bird-like soul will fly

Forever down the ever-flowing stream,
Gaining from swarthy death white infancy,
Somewhere—but where?—within the eternal scheme.

—*Household Words.*

A NEW ENGLAND FARMER'S HOMESTEAD HALF A CENTURY AGO.

I take as an example that of our neighbour, J—— P——, who had been a tailor, but having thriven in his affairs, and now advanced to the age of some fifty years, had become a farmer—such a career, by the way, being common at the time; for the prudent mechanic, adding to his house and his lands as his necessities and his thrift dictated, usualy ended as the proprietor of an ample house, fifty to a hundred acres of land, and an ample barn, stocked with half-a-dozen cows, one or two horses, a flock of sheep, and a general assortment of poultry.

The home of this, our neighbour B——, was situated on the road leading to Salem, there being a wide space in front occupied by the wood-pile, which in these days was not only a matter of great importance, but of formidable bulk. The size of the wood-pile was indeed in some sort an index to the rank and condition of the proprietor. The house itself was a low edifice, forty feet long, and of two stories in front; the rear being what was called a *breakback*, that is, sloping down to a height of ten feet; this low part furnishing a shelter for garden tools, and various household instruments. The whole was constructed of wood; the outside being of the dun complexion assumed by unpainted wood, exposed to the weather for twenty or thirty years, save only that the roof was tinged of a reddish-brown by a fine moss that found sustenance in the chestnut shingles.

To the left was the garden, which in the productive season was a wilderness of onions, squashes, cucumbers, beets, parsnips and currants, with the never-failing tansey for bitters, horse-radish for seasoning, and fennel for keeping old women awake in church time. A sprig of fennel was in fact the theological smelling-bottle of the tender sex, and not unfrequently of the men, who, from long sitting in the sanctuary—after a week of labour in the field—found themselves too strongly tempted to visit the forbidden land of Nod—would sometimes borrow a sprig of fennel, and exorcise the fiend that threatened their spiritual welfare.

The interior of the house presented a parlour with plain, whitewashed walls, a home-made carpet upon the floor, calico curtains at the window, and a mirror three feet by two against the side, with a mahogany frame; to these must be added eight chairs and a cherry table, of the manufacture of Deacon Hawley. The keeping or sitting-room had also a carpet, a dozen rush-bottom chairs, a table, &c. The kitchen was large, fully twenty feet square, with a fire place six feet wide and four feet deep. On one side, it looked upon the garden, the squashes and cucumbers climbing up and forming festoons over the door; on the other a view was presented of the orchard, embracing first a circle of peaches, pears and plums, and beyond a wide-spread clover-field embowered with apple-trees. Just by was the well, with its tall sweep, the old oaken bucket dangling from the pole. The kitchen was in fact the most comfortable room in the house; cool in Summer, and perfumed with the breath of the garden and orchard; in Winter, with its roaring blaze of hickory, it was a cosy resort, defying the bitterest blasts of the season. Here the whole family assembled at meals, save only when the presence of company made it proper to serve tea in the parlour.

The chambers were all without carpets, and the furniture was generally of a simple character. The beds, however, were of ample size, and well filled with geese-feathers, these being deemed essential for comfortable people. I must say, by the way, that every decent family had its flock of geese, of course, which was picked thrice a year, despite the noisy remonstrances of both goose and gander. The sheets of the bed, though of home-made linen, were as white as the driven snow. Indeed, the beds of this era showed that sleep was a luxury, well understood and duly cherished by all classes. The cellar, extending under the whole house, was a vast receptacle, and by no means the least important part of the establishment. In the Autumn it was supplied with three barrels of beef and as many of pork, twenty barrels of cider, with numercus bins of potatoes, turnips, beets, carrots and cabbages. The garret, which was of huge dimensions, at the same time displayed a labyrinth of dried pumpkins, peaches and apples